

CALAIS REFUGEE APPEAL

Hungry, cold and desperate. You can help them

Solidarity convoy taking donations to France on Saturday 9 December >>Pages 4&5



Socialist Worker

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ROYAL WEDDING SHOWS...



HARRY WALES

**Parasite prince
of Kensington**

**We'll pay for his
palace... and his
wedding**



MAHAD EGAL

**Grenfell survivor
of Kensington**

**Family still stuck
in temporary
home after fire**

DIVIDED BRITAIN

Money for royals but not for housing safety >>Page 3

WELFARE

'Austerity kills' as funds cut for women's refuges

A CHANGE to welfare rules slashing funding for women's refuges will put women and children at risk.

Tories are changing the rules so women in refuges won't be able to claim housing benefit.

But this makes up over half of funding for refuges. It will take a national fight to defend services.

>>Page 3

RACISM



**Football Lads
Alliance scores
own goal**

THE FOOTBALL Lads Alliance (FLA) suffered a humiliating defeat in Scotland last Saturday when it managed to turn out only 120 people on a protest.

In the weeks leading up to it, Stand Up To Racism leafleted football grounds. It also held an anti-racist unity event on the day.

>>Page 6

EDUCATION

Birmingham Trojan Horse scandal was hoax

A NEW book shows how the Tories used the "Trojan Horse" hoax in Birmingham schools to push an Islamophobic agenda.

Author John Holmwood said the witch hunt showed "a basic level of unfairness and injustice".

>>Pages 10&11



THE THINGS THEY SAY

'I've read really boring things like Pilgrim's Progress and even I think it's fucking boring'

Aide of Theresa May on the launch of the government's industrial strategy

'That we don't fall for a Leninist fallacy about the role of the party is really important'

Former Labour leader hopeful David Miliband warns the party not to become Bolsheviks

'The world reacted with joy'

The Press Association on the royal engagement

'No plans'

The government rules out a bank holiday

'Congratulations to HRH Prince William on his engagement to Megan Markle'

Democratic Unionist Party leader Arlene Foster loyally sends her congratulations to the wrong parasite

'The world glimpsed the ring, designed by Harry himself'

Daily Mail had a heart attack



Payment after SAS secretly kills three men in Afghanistan

THE FAMILY of three Afghan farmers allegedly killed by a team of SAS soldiers was paid "compensation" by the British government less than three weeks after the mission took place.

The victims' mother says she saw her three unarmed sons being gunned down by soldiers as they held their hands up in 2012.

Major Chris Green, who at the time was a British Army captain in the area, has described how the SAS thwarted his attempts to investigate the incident.

They refused to show him the "gun tapes", or camera footage, of the mission.

Green was told by a representative of the SAS that the three men had drawn weapons on them during the

Tesco told some Christmas temporary workers that their wages will be put on prepaid cards. The cards charge holders for cash withdrawals.

The card, which uses the Mastercard payment system, has a £9.95 activation fee and a monthly fee of £4.99 as well as charging 50p for ATM withdrawals.

One worker said, "There was no mention of the cards in the recruitment adverts, the interview or the induction."



SPECIAL FORCES in Afghanistan

night raid.

Ministry of Defence records show that 16 days after the secret mission a payment of

£3,634 was made for three people being killed.

"The case is marked as "settled".

The MoD said the payment was not compensation and instead called it an "assistance payment".

And it said that the payments did not constitute an admission of liability.

Green told the Sunday Times, "To say it's not compensation to the family is nonsense, really.

"This is what everybody called it on base, including the officers directly involved in paying the money."

He added, "I am unaware of any money paid to the families of insurgents."

Bebe Hazrata saw her sons, Nor Mohammad, Din Mohammad and Sher Mohammad, killed after they walked into the courtyard at the centre of their house with their hands held high.



Bosses are "cheating" apprentices out of the minimum wage. A new study found 135,000 apprentices in England are being paid less than the statutory rate. The TUC said around one in seven apprentices under the age of 19 and those in the first year were not being paid the £3.50 an hour rate.

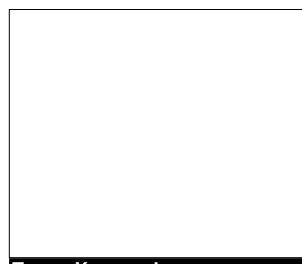
Censor rules Sun is OK to be offensive

A SUN column which used the phrase "The Muslim Problem" has been cleared of breaching the Editors' Code by press regulator IPSO.

IPSO said "The committee acknowledged that the question posed at the end of the column—"What will we do about The Muslim Problem then"—was capable of causing serious offence, given it could be interpreted as a reference to the rhetoric preceding the Holocaust.

"The committee made clear that there is no clause in the Editors' Code which prohibits publication of offensive content."

A Sun spokesman said, "This is a welcome reminder that the vitality



Trevor Kavanagh

of newspapers comes from the free exchange of ideas and opinions, perhaps particularly those which some might not like."

Trevor Kavanagh who wrote the article sits on the board of IPSO.

In happier news Katie Hopkins has been sacked by the Mail. She was previously sacked by the Sun.

Jeff Fairburn

Top construction bosses cash in on Tory scheme

THE HEAD of one of Britain's biggest housebuilders is on course to collect a bonus of almost £100 million.

Jeff Fairburn, chief executive of Persimmon, will receive the first £50 million bunch of shares next month under an incentive scheme worth a total of about £90 million at the current share price. Fairburn is about to

become one of Britain's best-paid bosses.

He already collected more than £2.12 million last year.

That included an annual bonus of more than £1.27 million on top of his meagre base salary of £647,747.

The payout is largely the product of the share price rise that followed the launch of the government's Help to Buy scheme.



Newsdesk
020 7840 5656
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Write to
Socialist Worker
PO Box 71327
London
SE11 9BW

No tax for May firm

THE FIRM where Philip May works has paid no corporation tax in eight years, despite turning over nearly half a billion pounds.

The prime minister's husband is a client relationship manager at investment firm Capital International Ltd.

It has turned over £467 million since 2009. But it recorded losses of £125 million over the same period, making it ineligible to pay corporation tax.

CIL paid its board of directors a total of £43 million in wages and other benefits over the same time frame.

CIL made profits of between £4 million and £5 million over the past two years, but continues to pay no corporation tax due to previous losses.

It made the losses after multi-million pound payments with other firms in the Capital Group, whose head office is in the US.

Lest we forget

3,000 Uber drivers work over 60 hours

UBER HAS admitted that 3,000 of its drivers in Britain work more than 60 hours a week.

The hours—which would be illegal for anyone driving a lorry, bus or most vans—are revealed in a letter submitted to the Commons business committee this month.

Uber said a further 11,000 drivers work between 40 and 60 hours a week.

It ignored a request to disclose how many drivers worked more than 70 or 80 hours a week.

Uber promised in February it would limit its drivers' hours on safety grounds as it does in New York. However, the company has not done so.

'Austerity kills' as funds cut for women's refuges

by SADIE ROBINSON

A CHANGE to benefit rules slashing funding for women's refuges will put women and children at risk.

The Tories plan to remove refugees and other short-term supported housing from the welfare system.

That means women would not be able to claim housing benefit to pay for their accommodation. Housing benefit makes up over half of refuge funding.

Domestic violence worker Louise Harrison spoke to Socialist Worker in a personal capacity. "This is the last nail in the coffin for domestic violence services," she said.

"It comes on top of cuts to legal aid, benefit sanctions, cuts to the health service. Every avenue a woman needs to escape domestic violence is being cut. Austerity really is killing people."

The Tories said they would give councils a "ring fenced" grant to fund short-term supported housing instead.

This would see refuges competing with other services for cash—with vulnerable women likely to lose out.

Fleeing

Women fleeing abusive partners often seek refuge in different cities for safety reasons. But Katie Ghose of Women's Aid said councils will be more likely to focus funding on local people.

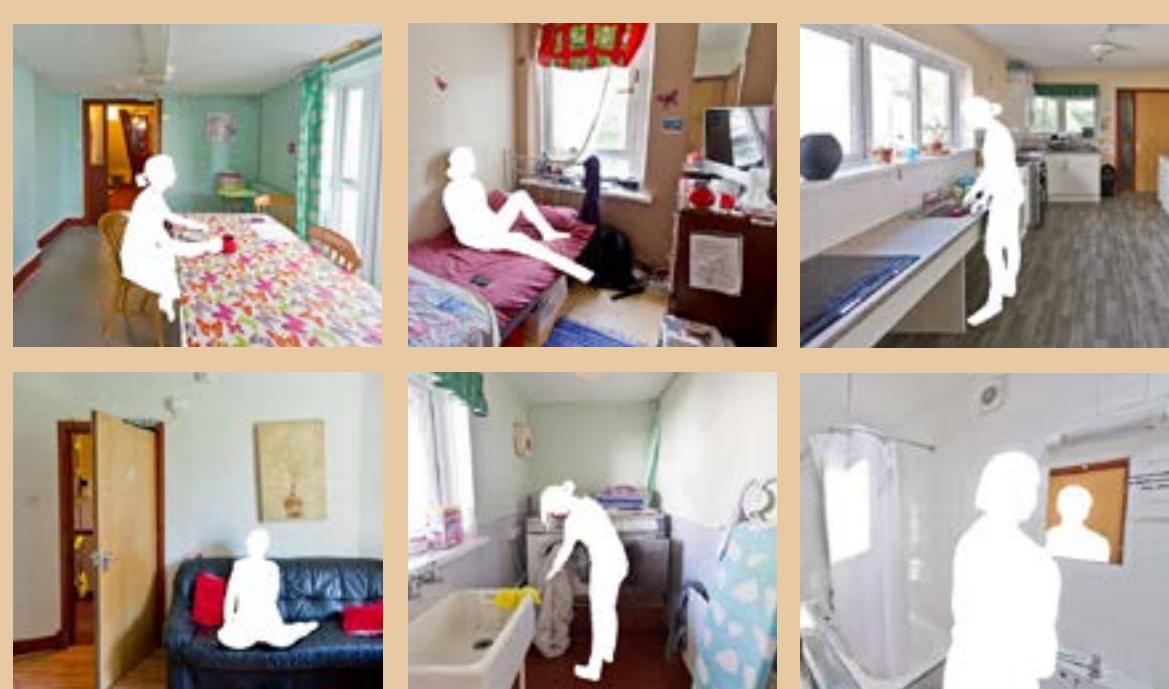
And refuges are already severely underfunded.

Some 155 women and 103 children are turned away from refuges in a typical day due to lack of space, according to Women's Aid.

The charity Refuge said it has suffered



Doncaster campaigner Louise Harrison



WOMEN'S REFUGES like this one run by Welsh Women's Aid, photographed by a domestic violence survivor who removed her own image, provide a lifeline that government cuts threaten to sever

cuts to 80 percent of its services since 2011—with some being slashed by half.

Louise is campaigning to save South Yorkshire Women's Aid in Doncaster. The campaign has raised thousands of pounds from trade unionists after the council refused to fund the service.

Louise said the campaign in Doncaster is "the guide for every town and city on how to save services".

But she added, "It's been proven that trying to save services town by town, city by city is failing. Even

where we've been successful—in Doncaster and Sunderland—it's only a partial success.

"We are still left with smaller services."

She said that trade unions should be at the centre of fighting to save domestic violence services. And activists everywhere can set up campaigns.

Campaign

"Find your local women's domestic violence services and phone them up," she said. "Find out how the cuts have affected them. Say that you'd like to set up a campaign to defend the service and make it a key issue.

"Once there's a campaign, other trade unionists can raise solidarity for it in their branches and raise funds.

This is something that the labour movement can really get behind."

And it's not just a local issue. Nationally, it's essential to demand the government reverse its decision on housing benefit—and provide funding to keep refuges open.

On average, two women a week are killed in England and Wales by a partner or ex-partner.

Louise said, "We are at a crisis level. Is this a campaign that can be put on hold until the next general election, whenever that might be? Absolutely not."

What's your story?

Email with your ideas
reports@socialistworker.co.uk

Socialist Worker Appeal to raise £125,000

Socialist Worker is the voice of people fighting for a better world. It dispels the racist scapegoating and anti-working class rhetoric of the mainstream press.

We publish stories of successful strikes, protests and pickets that beat back the bosses and bigots. We are asking everyone who enjoys Socialist Worker to donate as much as they can and help fund the resistance.

I SUPPORT THE APPEAL BECAUSE...

I believe part of the role of being an artist is being an educator.

That means having a broad range of sources, and one of those is Socialist Worker. It reflects the bigger picture of extreme poverty

and extreme greed in an accessible way.

We see the symptoms of that system locally and around the world.

Kurly, poet, Hip-Hop artist and supporter of Love Music Hate Racism



To donate go to www.socialistworker.co.uk/appeal

Call 020 7840 5620 or send a cheque, payable to 'SW Appeal' to PO Box 71327, London SE11 9BW



A royal wedding in a divided Britain

AS ROYAL parasite Prince Harry prepares for a lavish wedding, just down the road from Kensington Palace a community lies in pieces.

Mahad Egal lived on the fourth floor of Grenfell Tower. He and his family survived the deadly fire in June—but still live in temporary accommodation six months on.

"There's always going to be money for things like royal weddings," he told Socialist Worker. "But when it comes to things like social housing and safety there's no money."

"Working class people are in a dire situation. We need a change in the law to make installing sprinklers compulsory."

The royal wedding will cost millions. Over £3.6 million was put aside just for police overtime during the last one.

The total cost was estimated to be over £20 million of public money, plus cash from other royals—money they get from us too.

"There's money for bread and circuses but there's never any for homes," Grenfell fire evacuee Joe Delaney told Socialist Worker. "It would have cost £200,000 for sprinklers at Grenfell Tower."

Meghan Markle's ring, valued at £100,000, could cover half the cost of a sprinkler system for Grenfell.

IN THIS WEEK

1913

Assembly line begins to roll

THE FIRST ever moving assembly line was used making Ford Model T cars on 1 December, powered by conveyor belt.

It was modeled on the methods of meat factories. Assembly lines are a way for bosses to squeeze workers harder.

Let in Calais migrants to Britain, say anti-racists

Campaigners taking aid to refugees say the only solution is to open the border, reports Dave Sewell

LABOUR PEER Alf Dubs is set to see off anti-racism campaigners taking aid to refugees in Calais.

The solidarity convoy on Friday 8 and Saturday 9 December will be a central focus of the Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) and Care 4 Calais (C4C) winter appeal.

Hundreds of refugees are trapped outside in the cold by Britain's border in northern France.

Their numbers have crept back up since the Calais "jungle" was demolished last year. Many people have nowhere else to go.

They face regular police repression and the risk of serious injury and death trying to get on lorries to Britain, as well as the extortions of ruthless traffickers.

Dubs, SUTR and C4C also called a "Dubs now" day of action on Friday of this week, 1 December. They are demanding the government enact the "Dubs Amendment" to the 2016 Immigration Act.

Children

The amendment was intended to bring over 3,000 unaccompanied children and young refugees from Europe.

But the government removed any reference to a number, and declared the scheme closed with just 480 refugees—only 200 of whom have yet made it to Britain.

Many of those in Calais would be eligible to come to Britain under a re-opened Dubs scheme.

SUTR campaigners in Islington, north London, collected £100 for the appeal from shoppers last Saturday.

They had already received donations from local trade union branches, including £200 from the lecturers' union UCU.

Both local Constituency Labour parties emailed all their members about the appeal, and Emily Thornberry MP's constituency office was made available for dropping off donations.

Teacher Viv Whittingham brought several bags of donations from students in her English for

SHOW SUPPORT

- Download a "Dubs now" sign to take selfies with on Friday at bit.ly/2iVTC7I
- Download a collection sheet for fundraising at bit.ly/2n7soFb
- Collect priority items from this list bit.ly/2x8GaMp
- Donate online at mydonate.bt.com/fundraisers/sutr
- Contact mandybrowncow@yahoo.com to join the convoy to Calais

Speakers of Other Languages class. "The reaction was really warm and supportive," she said. "Everyone said something about how they wanted to help."

Meanwhile in Birmingham, SUTR campaigners including Labour Party members, trade unionists and socialists raised £60.

They are also building for a fundraising dinner on Sunday of this week, with speeches from eyewitnesses to the ethnic cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Bangladesh.

Those who get there are trapped, banned from proceeding to the mainland and onward to other European countries. They are locked in five EU detention camps.

Plight

The plight of refugees trapped in Calais could be ended with an open border allowing them to get to Britain safely and legally.

In the meantime, bringing aid donations such as sleeping bags and clothes (see box) can help the refugees survive.

And collecting for them helps bring the issue to wider attention and build a movement to get the border open. The appeal should be a priority for all anti-racists in the coming weeks.

FIGURE IT OUT

141 patrols carried out by charities and immigration officers in 12 London boroughs not including Westminster in 2016

133 people were detained in eight boroughs

127 people in Westminster were deported

On other pages...  Football Lads Alliance scores own goal with Scottish demo >> Page 6



REFUGEES SUCH as these are trapped in northern France

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

Refugees resist in Greece and France

REFUGEES AND their supporters in Europe are fighting back as governments and European Union (EU) clampdowns trap them in worsening conditions.

Hundreds of refugees and their supporters marched last Saturday in the Greek island of Lesvos—and occupied the offices of Greece's governing party Syriza.

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On other pages...  Football Lads Alliance scores own goal with Scottish demo >> Page 6

Challenge to deportations

THE HIGH Court is considering a challenge to the government's policy of deporting people for being homeless.

A three-day judicial review hearing took place last week, brought by three homeless men, two from Poland and one from Latvia.

The government can use the fact of sleeping rough to

show that someone doesn't have "genuine and effective" residence in Britain.

This counts as an "abuse" of the European Union's freedom of movement rules and can be used as grounds for deportation.

Homelessness charities have colluded with the border cops. Freedom of Information

requests found 133 rough sleepers in eight London boroughs detained after joint visits by charity workers and immigration officers in just eight months.

The three men want the practice to be banned as discriminatory.

A verdict could be delivered early next year.

TEACHERS, students and others have written an open letter to Ofsted asking it to withdraw an instruction to inspectors to question children who wear the hijab.

Armanda Spielman, head of the schools inspectorate, announced the Islamophobic plan earlier this month. She claimed the

hijab could be seen as "sexualisation" of girls.

More than 1,000 people have signed the letter demanding the plan be withdrawn.

It says that no children should be "targeted for action on the basis of their race, religion or background."

"Constructing women and children who wear the hijab as being either

sexualised or repressed is both reductive and racist."

"Ofsted's decision risks reinforcing an anti-Muslim political culture."

"It is a discriminatory and institutionally racist response that will violate civil liberties

and create a climate of fear in schools."

Sign the letter at bit.ly/2Bfwhdq

Calls for justice after police 'slam boy into doorway'

POLICE officers in London are under investigation after a 15 year old school boy was "slammed" off his bike and into a doorway.

CCTV footage appears to show how a police officer pushed Terrell Decosta Jones-Burton in Bermondsey, south London.

The incident knocked Terrell unconscious.

He was left with a split lip, lost teeth, a broken jawbone, bruising on the brain and abdominal pain, according to his family.

The CCTV footage shows the moment Terrell's head smashes into a takeaway door at speed. Terrell is followed immediately by a police officer who appears to land on top of him.

Bogdan Sadowski,



Terrell in hospital with severe facial injuries

who witnessed the incident, said, "The officer was very aggressive. The boy's head slammed into the door and he was out cold. I thought he was dead."

And TA Raju, another witness, said, "The kid didn't even know what was happening and he rugby tackled him into the glass. There was blood everywhere."

In a statement Terrell's mother said, "The police are accusing Terrell of the robbery of A MOBILE PHONE????!!"

"Was all of this necessary over a phone?!! Police brutality on young black boys has to STOP."

"You need to think about tax rates going up, about nationalisation, about an economic system which has favoured capital over labour for the last ten to 20 years shifting to favour labour over capital."

Morgan Stanley then put up a list of firms who should fear what Labour might do. It included Ocado, Go-Ahead, Stagecoach,

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

THE RICH WANT A FIGHT, SO LABOUR MUST BE READY

BRITAIN'S BOSSES are worried. They are fretting about Brexit, but their bigger concern is Jeremy Corbyn.

That's the message from wealth management firm Morgan Stanley, who think a general election in the second half of 2018 is likely.

A report it released this week agonised about the effects for "companies in the utilities, postal, telecommunications, financial and defence sectors" if Corbyn wins.

The point was made even clearer in a briefing from Graham Secker, an equity strategist at Morgan Stanley.

"If I am a UK shares fund manager, I am more concerned about a potential change in the domestic political government than I am about Brexit," Secker said.

"You need to think about tax rates going up, about nationalisation, about an economic system which has favoured capital over labour for the last ten to 20 years shifting to favour labour over capital."

Morgan Stanley then put up a list of firms who should fear what Labour might do. It included Ocado, Go-Ahead, Stagecoach,

Greene King, Tesco, Ladbrokes Coral, and Dixons Carphone.

These are companies who have lots of low paid workers who might, horror of horrors, do better under Corbyn while profits might fall a bit.

As Morgan Stanley put it, "Higher low-end wage growth could also impact service-oriented companies with low margins."

This is the authentic voice of capital.

Ignore the thin smiles that bosses will sometimes bestow on anti-Brexit Labour figures. In their hearts they hate any interference with what they see as their right to make money.

So Labour had better prepare

“However many prawn cocktails you eat, capitalist sharks don't turn into cuddly bears

now for a battle. Shadow chancellor John McDonnell said last week he was taking "advice and assistance" from asset managers. Don't bother.

And don't bother trying to win over the bosses' CBI.

However many prawn cocktails you eat with them, capitalist sharks don't turn into cuddly bears.

Only under intense pressure will companies make concessions.

There is a class war going on. After Philip Hammond's budget last week, the Resolution Foundation forecasted that real disposable incomes will go down for 19 successive quarters.

That's the most prolonged fall in more than 60 years.

For the poorest third of households, the forecast is "an average loss of £715 a year by the end of the parliament." In contrast, the richest third will gain an average of £185.

Instead of trying to ally with the bosses who gain from this system, Labour has to fight them. That means encouraging every bit of resistance now, initiating fightbacks itself, and looking beyond elections to organise struggle in the workplaces and the streets.

A BREXIT FROM IRELAND

JEREMY WARNER, an associate editor of the Daily Telegraph no less, wrote this week, "Ireland has poisoned UK politics and brought down governments for centuries."

His imperial ignorance is shared by the government.

Karen Wheeler, the top official planning Britain's post-Brexit borders, told MPs she was "not really able to say" what will happen in Ireland. That's because the government has no plan.

Politicians unconcerned about

poverty and sectarianism in Northern Ireland are very worried about the ability of goods to move among these islands in a profitable manner.

That the Tories are reliant in parliament on the bigots of the Democratic Unionist Party adds a whiff of panic to proceedings.

The Irish government is itself deep in crisis over an unrelated scandal.

It is also "not really able to say" that enough progress is being made on the border for the and for all.

STAND UP TO RACISM UPCOMING EVENTS

Saturday 9 December
Collect for the SUTR and Care4Calais Winter Appeal.

Saturday 10 February
Come to SUTR's Trade Union Conference to build the fight against racism at work

Saturday 17 March
SUTR national demonstrations in London, Glasgow and Cardiff

European Union to open trade negotiations with the British. The establishment of both states is concerned with protecting profits. Odd things, "border questions". A modest proposal would be to open the borders of Britain and Ireland to all migrants, and stop the vast flows of tax-avoiding cash both states swallow in. Oh, and remove the border between north and south by Britain getting out of Ireland once and for all.

For more details go to standuptoracism.org.uk



ANALYSIS

ALEX CALLINICOS

Centre ground fails under Merkel's feet

IN THE endless discussions about Brexit, it's commonly assumed that the British side is weak and confused and the European Union (EU) is strong and united. The first is true, the second not so much.

It's true that the eurozone economy has finally started to recover. Figures released last week suggest that the eurozone may grow at an annual rate of 3 percent in the final quarter of 2017.

Driving this recovery is Germany—its exports are booming. But there is a fly in the ointment—politics. The federal elections in September showed that the neoliberal centre ground is being squeezed in Germany just as it is elsewhere in Western capitalism.

The two dominant forces in German politics, chancellor Angela Merkel's Christian Democrat Party/Christian Social Union conservative bloc and the Labour-type Social Democrats (SPD), won 53 percent between them. It was their worst electoral performance since the federal republic was formed in 1949.

And the far right Alternative for Germany (AfD) broke through, winning seats in the national parliament for the first time.

SPD leader Martin Schulz immediately announced that his party would pull out of the Tory-SPD grand coalition it had served in since 2013. He reasoned that the SPD had become too closely identified with Merkel and needed to rebuild support in opposition.

So Merkel started coalition negotiations with two smaller parties—the Greens and the Free Democrats (FDP). Both are pretty venal neoliberal parties, but last week FDP leader Christian Lindner pulled out of the talks.

The FDP were a bit like the Liberal Democrats, but are increasingly eurosceptic.

What scuppered the talks was Lindner's refusal to support any greater integration of the eurozone along the lines being proposed by France's new centrist president Emmanuel Macron. Merkel wanted to be seen to be trying to accommodate Macron, but Lindner wasn't having it.

Swallowed

Beyond this issue were more directly political calculations. The FDP were in coalition with the conservatives in 2009-13. They did so badly in the following elections that they lost all their parliamentary seats. Lindner wants to avoid being swallowed up by Merkel again.

Moreover, Financial Times columnist Wolfgang Munchau suggests he is trying to pick "disgruntled conservative Christian Democrat voters, unhappy with the compromises of permanent grand coalitions".

Meanwhile, the hapless SPD put its head back in the tiger's mouth. Schulz announced late last week that he would after all have coalition talks with Merkel. He was pressured by German president Frank-Walter Steinmeier and SPD backbenchers scared of losing their seats if Merkel carried out her threat to call a snap election.

If the SPD ends up in another grand coalition, it's likely to see more of its electoral base crumble away. It's under pressure from parties both right and left.

Both the SPD and Christian Democrats in office have served the interests of Germany's great banks and industrial firms. This has meant economic restructuring and growing austerity, leading to a steady erosion of one of the strongest welfare states in the world.

Germany was much less badly hit than other economies during the eurozone crisis of 2010-15. But more and more working class people have been thrust into conditions of insecurity.

This is the background to voters' growing willingness to vote for parties that present themselves as rebelling against the mainstream consensus represented by the CDU/CSU and the SPD.

It would be tragic if the likes of Lindner and the AfD were able to dominate this rebellion.

The left party, Die Linke, marginally improved its performance in the federal elections, winning 9.2 percent of the vote. But it has been too willing to allow the right to make the running against the EU.

This will have to change if Die Linke is to rise to the challenge of a fragmenting party system.

Football Lads Alliance scores own goal with Scottish demo

by DONNY GLUCKSTEIN

THE FOOTBALL Lads Alliance (FLA) suffered a reverse in Scotland last Saturday. It showed it is not the all-conquering force it pretends to be.

At the end of October, in a fanfare of publicity, FLA founder John Meighan announced the group's launch in Scotland. He said he was hopeful of "real success".

The plan was to hold a rally in Edinburgh in conjunction with Veterans against Terrorism (VAT).

They chose last Saturday because that's when the Scottish TUC holds its annual anti-racist demonstration in Glasgow. Up to 2,000 people marched this year.

But Meighan's plan flopped. The crowd of 120 on the FLA gathering outside the Scottish Parliament had some 70 veterans.

Casuals

But only 50 or so football casuals, seemingly all from England, turned out.

There was not a single Scottish speaker nor an identifiable Scottish football supporter visible.

The FLA's failure was the result of consistent efforts by Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) to explain the dangers of racist division to football fans. It built maximum anti-racist unity in advance of 25 November.

SUTR leafleted matches over several weeks and was well received.

A unity statement was issued and backed by the Scottish TUC, all the major



ANTI-RACISTS IN Edinburgh (above) and FLA founder John Meighan (left)

PICTURES: ALAN BELL AND GUY SMALLMAN

were read out from the newly elected Scottish Labour leader, Richard Leonard, SNP MPs and Jews for Peace.

VAT and FLA claims not to be racist or extremist were exposed by their speeches which focussed exclusively on attacking Islam.

The FLA has claimed to be drawing a clear line on far right involvement in its activities.

Dropped

But that pretence was dropped with the speakers at the Edinburgh rally.

These included Nazi Toni Bugle, English Defence League supporter Bill Weir and Mo Fyaz, an associate of fascist Tommy Robinson.

Individuals from VAT

came over to our SUTR rally to provoke violence but these failed too.

The FLA's chances of building in Scotland are slim, and we will do our best to keep it that way.

But there can be no complacency. The FLA announced last week, "The FLA will be marching in March and May 2018. Neither march will be held in London. We are heading NORTH."

Every anti-racist, trade unionist and socialist must be ready to oppose their attempts to build a mass racist street movement.

Got a story?
Email ideas to reports@socialistworker.co.uk

ANTI-FASCISM

Nazis humiliated by counter protest in Durham



Trade unionists and Labour members joined the counter protest

PICTURE: COUNTY DURHAM ANTI-RACIST COALITION

County Durham Anti-Racist Coalition.

It included trade unionists and local Labour Party members from across the city.

Many brought homemade placards with slogans including "Open your arms—refugees welcome" and "racists are rubbish".

While fascists are currently doing badly in Britain, it's important to oppose them when they do march.

Bus workers strike over pay across north west

Walkouts have got bosses worried at Arriva North West—and they're lashing out, reports **Sarah Bates**

THOUSANDS OF bus workers in the north west of England took their pay fight up a gear with a strike on Monday.

The strike meant drivers and engineers at 11 Arriva North West bus depots have now walked out for seven days over six weeks.

They're fighting for a pay rise in line with inflation and an end to pay disparity between depots.

Members of the Unite and GMB unions have voted overwhelmingly to reject the bosses' outrageous "final offer" of just 1p an hour more than the previous offer.

And they are set to strike on Monday and Thursday next week, then from 12 to 14 December and again from 20 to 23 December.

An Arriva North West driver told Socialist Worker that escalating the strike is "absolutely the right thing to do".

"We've got to fight this," he said. "It's about basic solidarity. If some of my brothers are out on the picket line, I would just never cross it."

In October workers struck alongside the RMT union for 24 hours. The united strike sent some parts of Liverpool and Manchester into total gridlock.

A Unite member who works in a Manchester depot told Socialist Worker that a deal is overdue.

"We shouldn't be negotiating in November for a pay deal that was due in April," he said.

Insulting

"The bosses are offering us 1p, but people just find that insulting."

Bosses resorted to leaning on workers to swap their rest days, meaning that some services were running from some depots.

Other tactics were more vicious. "Drivers felt isolated because bosses were ringing them up saying they should work on their days off," said the Unite member.

"And they threatened non-union members with breach of contract if they didn't cross the picket line."

At Wythenshawe bus depot in

BACK STORY

Arriva North West bus drivers and engineers struck this week

- The walkout in the north west of England involved thousands of Unite and GMB union members
- The workers have voted to reject bosses' disgraceful "final offer" of an extra 1p an hour
- They are demanding a pay rise in line with inflation and pay equality across all depots
- Workers plan further strikes throughout December if bosses don't back down

south Manchester trade unionists brought solidarity, including a financial collection from Unison children's services branch.

Four days of strikes in the busiest shopping week of the year is a serious escalation—and the bosses are getting nervous.

Arriva North West management are keen to discredit the strikers. They've been posting on social media that strikers plan to walk out on 10 December—which is a derby day for both Merseyside and Manchester football clubs.

Unite regional officer Neil Clarke said bosses "are deliberately trying to turn the public against striking bus drivers".

Arriva has blamed workers for prolonging the dispute.

But as one driver pointed out, "We started out asking for a 3.7 percent rise, but now we're asking for 3.1 percent."

"The unions have shown we are willing to compromise but Arriva aren't coming to us with serious offers."

Drivers say a decent pay deal that bosses can easily afford would get them back to work in time for Christmas.

More online

Fracking boss calls on Tories to overrule council bit.ly/2iZEnAd



THOUSANDS OF bus drivers struck across north west England on Monday. They are demanding a pay rise and equal pay across all depots

PICTURES: GUY SMALLMAN

Rusholme driver says, 'Bosses make millions—they should be ashamed'



Strikes stopped buses in Manchester

"When I started as a bus driver people would use overtime to get luxuries, like a holiday. Now people rely on overtime just to get by."

Driver Gary told Socialist Worker how extra money would mean "not having to always rely on overtime". He said it would give "a better work life balance so I can see more of my family".

Scabs

Managers have resorted to bullying tactics to try and break the strike. This includes laying on a daily buffet for scabs, filming pickets and implementing an overtime ban for strikers.

But the strike is clearly hitting the bosses—they had to recruit managers from far afield as Weymouth, Devon, Anglia and Bristol. Even then services only ran half as regularly as normal.

Workers hope the escalation of the strike will be unsustainable for the scabs. And strikers remained upbeat.

Driver Robert said, "The camaraderie here is amazing. This strike means for the first time we've got real friendship, and the trust grows stronger every day."

UNITE MEMBERS at the First Greater Manchester bus depot in Rusholme struck on Monday, demanding pay in line with drivers at other depots.

Workers have struck every Monday in October and November, but escalated their action to three days this week.

Drivers at nearby Queen's Road depot run some of the same bus routes—but are paid an extra £4,500 a year.

Striker Robert said pay disparity was "disgraceful." "The company should be ashamed of themselves," he added. "They make millions in profit and all we want is to be treated fairly."

The depot sits on a main road into central Manchester—and drivers there say it's one of the busiest bus routes in Europe.

Tooted

On the picket line, dozens of Stagecoach drivers tooted their support and drivers said passengers were "generally supportive".

The pay differences date back to 2013, when First Greater Manchester took over the depot from coach operator Finglands.

Four years on, pay for managers and supervisors has been brought in line with their equivalents from other depots—but drivers' pay hasn't.

Labour councillors for Rusholme ward were on the picket line showing solidarity with the strikers.

Rabnawaz Akbar said the pay disparity was an "unjust anomaly" that was only revealed to drivers once they signed the contract.

Dave has been a bus driver for 25 years and has never struck before. He said the dispute was about dignity.

"It's not about the extra 20p or 40p more an hour, it's about parity," he said.

"And they always find money when they want bigger depots."

Mugabe has gone, now what next in Zimbabwe?

There's no easy road to freedom but the dictator's fall opens up a new era, writes Tomáš Tengely-Evans

ZIMBABWE'S president Emmerson Mnangagwa pledged to open up the country to international capital as he was inaugurated last Friday. It followed mass celebrations at Robert Mugabe's resignation after 37 years.

It is positive that Mugabe has gone. He ruled in recent years as a dictator who undermined democracy and implemented attacks on workers and the poor.

There is now an opening for ordinary people to assert their own interests. But that will take a mighty battle.

Mnangagwa said, "Key choices will have to be made to attract foreign direct investment while transforming our economy."

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is already circling. Its Zimbabwe mission chief Gene Leon said, "Immediate action is critical to reduce the deficit to a sustainable level, and accelerate structural reforms."

Farmers

Mnangagwa also pledged to pay compensation to white farmers whose land was taken back by the Mugabe government.

Zimbabwean capitalism is in deep crisis. There were powerful protests and strikes in July 2016.

The military coup two weeks ago that brought Mnangagwa to office was the result of divisions within the ruling class about how best to survive. As conditions deteriorated rival factions of the ruling Zanu-PF party jockeyed for power.

Mugabe implemented some free market reforms, but didn't go far enough to satisfy the Mnangagwa faction. They aim to go further with free market reforms and normalise relations with Western imperialism.

Mnangagwa was vice president until last month when he was sacked to make way for Mugabe's wife Grace Mugabe. He was one of the Mugabe regime's key henchmen and worked for the repressive security apparatus.

Willet, a Zimbabwean student

ZIMBABWE ONLINE

- "Mugabe's gone, everyone is singing in the street," says Zimbabwean socialist bit.ly/2iVLRUG
- Robert Mugabe resigns: can ordinary people now win their own demands? bit.ly/2zryDFv
- Zimbabwe's new president promises reforms that will hurt the working class bit.ly/2ztLkjg
- Robert Mugabe—how an anti-colonialist hero became an authoritarian nationalist bit.ly/2jUQ3rk

and socialist, spoke to Socialist Worker from the resignation celebrations last Tuesday.

"The fundamental question is what happens next," he said. "The ruling system is pursuing a neoliberal agenda and we're not celebrating that."

Many people will accept the new regime because the Mugabes had become so hated.

And the pressure will be for a "national unity government" of Mnangagwa's Zanu PF, the military and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC).

The MDC was set up by trade unions to oppose Mugabe's free market reforms, but has come to see neoliberalism as the only alternative.

But Willet argued that Mugabe's resignation has also opened up the possibility of working class people putting forward their own independent demands. "The Mugabe regime was not providing democracy," he said.

"We've seen big demonstrations and it will have raised the confidence of the working class. Whatever government comes next will face resistance."



On other pages...
Colonial crimes in Zimbabwe
>>Pages 14&15

CELEBRATING MUGABE'S fall. New president Mnangagwa is known as 'The Crocodile'

MIDDLE EAST

Mass slaughter at a mosque follows repression by Egypt's dictator el-Sisi

by NICK CLARK

EGYPT'S DICTATOR General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi promised to respond with "brute force" after an appalling terror attack on a mosque last Friday killed at least 305 people.

The Egyptian military said it had carried out airstrikes on "terrorist targets" in the Sinai area in north east Egypt where the attack took place. The Egyptian regime has been fighting an insurgency in Sinai since 2013.

Islamist group Wilayat al-Sinai—an affiliate of Isis—was widely blamed for the attack, but hadn't claimed responsibility as Socialist Worker went to press.

Insurgency

Militant groups in Sinai have waged an insurgency against the Egyptian government since the Egyptian revolution overthrew dictator Hosni Mubarak in 2011.

The insurgency has support from sections of Sinai's Bedouin population left impoverished by regime policies. El-Sisi increased repressive measures in Sinai after overthrowing Egyptian president

to increase pressure on Palestinian resistance group Hamas.

Israel and some Arab states, led by regional giant Saudi Arabia, are also waging a campaign to isolate Iran. Saudi Arabia hosted a summit on Sunday, launching a "counter-terrorism alliance".

Excluded

The summit excluded Iran and its allies, and its targets appeared to be militant groups supported by Iran such as Hamas. A video launching the summit used footage of Palestinian fighters during the second Intifada—or "uprising"—against Israel to depict terrorism.

Saudi Arabia is also behind recent attempts to marginalise Hezbollah in Lebanon.

Lebanese president Saad Hariri was apparently forced to resign by Saudi Arabian crown prince Mohammed bin Salman. But he has unexpectedly "suspended" his resignation after Hezbollah called for his return and led condemnations of Saudi Arabia.

London demonstration—Yemen, the forgotten war. Stop Saudi and UAE aggression. Saturday 2 Dec, 1pm, 30 Princes Gate, SW7 1PT. Supported by Stop the War Coalition and others



Not the only war criminal

I AM pleased that Ratko Mladic, chief of the Bosnian Serb army during the Yugoslav wars, has been jailed for his role in the massacre of 8,000 Bosniaks.

Mladic deserves jailing, and I hope the families of his victims sleep easier knowing that Mladic is paying for his crimes.

But there is a problem with the "justice" handed out by the international court in the Hague. Mladic's conviction is being used to endorse the West's narrative. It portrays the wars of former Yugoslavia as the result of "bad" Serbs attacking "good" Croats, Bosniaks and Kosovars. This absolves the Western powers of their own role and justifies their military intervention in the region.

Why was there never an attempt to bring the Croatian president Franjo Tudjman to the Hague? He was a man who oversaw the ethnic cleansing of 300,000 Krajina Serbs from Croatia in 1995. But he was also an important ally of the West.

Under capitalism "justice" and "war crimes" are elastic concepts in the service of the political objectives of the state.

Otherwise why are those who invaded Iraq still at liberty? They killed 1.2 million and created nearly 4 million refugees.

The Hague will only show the world it can credibly dispense "justice" when Tony Blair and George W Bush are sat before it.

Sasha Simic
East London



ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

We're fighting Islamophobia and sexism at our university

SCHOOLS INSPECTORATE Ofsted's decision to question Muslim girls wearing a hijab is racist.

It's disgusting. I went to a really diverse secondary school and know people who will be affected by this.

It places Muslim girls under suspicion. If they did have an issue, policies like this stop them from being able to talk to anyone.

It's the same with the Prevent strategy, aimed at looking for signs of "extremism". The whole mentality of it will affect how Muslim women feel as part of society.

At university you hear loads of racism and sexism. There's such a problem with "lad culture" on

campus. People pretend everything's "banter" and they can say whatever they want.

I've heard men sexualising women or discussing whether women should be wearing a hijab. It makes me feel really uncomfortable.

But a lot of students experience Islamophobia—and we've decided to hold a meeting on Women and Islamophobia. We've been having Stand Up To Racism stalls and got a good response.

Sometimes it's hard getting through to people. But having an anti-racist presence matters, because even if people don't get involved, they can see us challenging racism. Hearing other

anti-racists talk about it makes me feel more confident in challenging bigotry.

And the meeting is an important space to allow people to overcome their ignorance, and take part in the discussion.

They can see that actually talking to each other is effective.

And when people talk about racism, it makes me more confident in taking on sexism as well.

We have Muslim women on the panel of the meeting because their voices should be elevated in this debate. Everyone should get involved in the fight against the racists.

Stephanie Onamade
Queen Mary University of London

Don't buy the bosses' fracking propaganda

MY LOCAL newspaper the Derbyshire Times seems to be intent on pumping out pro-fracking propaganda.

Fracking company Ineos flew journalists out to Pennsylvania in the US on an all-expenses trip to show them around sites run by fracking giant EQT.

Now they publish articles which could have come straight from a press release.

They've boasted that fracking in the US has led "to an economic boom" for the local community. They

could have reported the fact that EQT has been criticised for adopting "aggressive tactics". It has been fined over a million dollars because chemicals leaked into the water supply.

They are trying to persuade us that they are not destroying the local environment. But local anti-fracking campaigners have developed a simple but effective response—"No fracking way!"

James Eaden
Chesterfield

Cave is not 'principled' for aiding Israel

IT WAS horrible to see rock artist Nick Cave decide to play in Israel and even hold a press conference attacking the Palestine solidarity movement.

Cave accused artists such as Roger Waters and Brian Eno, who support the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel, of "bullying" fellow musicians.

Saying that he "loves Israel", Cave insisted that he was taking "a principled stand against anyone who tries to

Nick Cave

censor and silence musicians."

"The BDS made me play Israel", he continued.

His attack on BDS and gig in Israel are not only extremely disappointing,

they are also very painful. Cave is an artist of great intelligence and sensitivity.

His screenplay for the 2005 movie *The Proposition*, for example, reflects powerfully on the genocidal racism at the very roots of the colonial project in Australia.

Like the artists who broke the Anti-Apartheid Movement's boycott and played Sun City in South Africa, he is siding with the oppressor against the oppressed.

Mark Brown
Glasgow

Just a thought...

Immigration is not a crime

THE LEGAL system is showing further evidence of the government's racism towards migrants.

Now all defendants in criminal trials are required to state their nationality.

But the only relevant detail in a criminal trial should be whether they are guilty or not. Their nationality should have no relevance.

Adam Cochrane
Harlow

Russia, then Zimbabwe

IF RUSSIA could be transformed from its backward self after the 1917 revolution maybe there is hope for Zimbabwe today.

People on the street are determined to demand fundamental change.

Moya Samuels
West London

Art should be for everyone

I HATE it when art is bought by those that have no interest in the cultural value of their work and just stored away.

Some people just want to keep it in their homes to show people how wealthy they are. Art should be made public, for current and future generations to enjoy.

Lindy-Lou Nicholson
On Facebook

Train bosses' desperation

DURING THE recent rail strikes the bosses used dirty tricks to undermine union activists. BBC South has run reports accusing RMT union members of bullying. But workers are determined to stay united and the fight will continue.

Name and address supplied

Parties not the problem

YOU REPORT that jobcentres are having Universal Credit (UC) rollout parties (Socialist Worker, 22 November).

I don't hold UC against the jobcentre workers. If they get a few drinks out of it, good for them. It's this vile government we should direct our disgust at.

Wayne O'Dell
On Twitter

THE GREAT TROJAN HOAX

A new book shows how the Tories used the Birmingham schools Trojan Horse scandal to push an Islamophobic agenda. John Holmwood, co-author of *The Truth About the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair*, spoke to **Sadie Robinson**

THE government deliberately used the Trojan Horse scandal to push racist lies and justify more repression of Muslims. That's the conclusion of a damning new book on the scandal, *Countering Extremism in British Schools?*

BACK STORY

THE ACADEMIES programme has "removed a whole series of checks and balances" from schools, John said.

"There are very few reputable intermediating bodies between the DfE and schools," he explained. "Most are agencies of the DfE such as Ofsted, the Education Funding Agency and the NCTL."

The book describes how Ofsted inspectors are "recruited from sponsors of academies and private consultancies".

"Birmingham local authority has given over its schools improvement programme to a private consultancy," added John. "There are issues of democratic accountability."

It was one of the top 14 percent of schools in the country in terms of academic achievement.

Then Ofsted inspectorate head Sir Michael Wilshaw declared that "all schools should be like it". The Department for Education (DfE) encouraged Park View to become an academy and sponsor two schools, Golden Hillock and Nansen.

That's what happened to Park View Academy, the school which was at the centre of the scandal.

Children entered Park View with attainments "well below the national average".

John Holmwood

Yet by 2012

to export its Islamising blueprint." But Tory policy instructs schools deemed successful to introduce their successful practices to others.

Some 98.9 percent of Park View's students were Muslim. But this wasn't about "self-segregation". John said it reflected "non-Muslim parents not wishing to send their children there despite it being one of the most successful schools in the country".

The book details the importance of allowing children to express religion at school. "I'm a secular person," said John. "But I've become much more sympathetic to religion in schools having seen how it facilitates ethnic minority pupils."

The book cites guidance describing how children "feel they wholly belong to their school community" if their religion is taken seriously.

Park View wasn't a faith school. Reports following Trojan Horse condemned it as "overly religious".

But non-faith schools in England aren't secular. All are required to "hold daily acts of worship and teach religious education".

And they are expected to take account of concerns specific to communities that they serve.

Ofsted reports from 2007 and 2012 praised Park View's Islamic assemblies as giving students "opportunities to celebrate diversity and reflect on their lives".

In 2012 Ofsted declared Park View's headteacher and team

Muslim pupils are subject to intense scrutiny by inspectors and government agencies

When Muslims have schools that are really successful they are attacked



FACT CHECK

CLAIM Technicians at Park View recorded a terrorist video believed to be from Al Qaida onto a DVD, showing evidence of extremism.

FACT Counter terrorism cops requested the recording to

use in a session for pupils

on the risks of radicalisation,

showing evidence of the school's

engagement with Prevent

CLAIM A teacher gave children a handout that argued wives are obliged to have sex with their husbands

FACT Some boys distributed a printout containing the claim.

The school repudiated it at the next assembly, explaining that consent was required under English law

and by Islamic teaching

CLAIM The National College for Teaching and Learning would target around 100 teachers

FACT Cases were brought against 15 teachers. Most were dropped.

Just one teacher was sanctioned.

He did not have the benefit of documents that were withheld from the hearings

CLAIM Extremists addressed pupils

FACT Sheikh Shady Alsuleiman spoke at Park View in 2013. He was deemed "extremist" only

in 2015 when the government definition changed

or other cultures". Separate lessons for girls and boys was now evidence of Islamisation.

John said, "It can't be right for teachers to be pilloried for something they were previously told was good practice. There's such a basic level of unfairness and injustice."

At the time of the Ofsted inspections the DfE had issued no guidance to schools on how to implement the anti-Muslim Prevent strategy. Yet the schools were "downgraded for failures to address extremism or to implement Prevent".

Ofsted complained that Park View had implemented Prevent "only for students in years 7 and 8". But the evidence is that this is more than other schools.

THE TROJAN Horse claims have no basis. Specific allegations were shown to be false (see left). Yet the government used it to intensify its assault on Muslims.

A Home Office counter-extremism strategy cited "evidence that our institutions are increasingly targeted by extremists to spread their ideology". It summarised the Clarke Report including "claims which were not in it".

These include the allegations that "extremists" became governors and that staff who refused to support "extremist views" were bullied.

The book describes how this

REPORTS

An inspector calls

OFSTED INSPECTED 21 schools following the allegations. Just 14 had allegations made against them. But all 21 had between 90 and 100 percent ethnic minority pupils.

Gove appointed Peter Clarke (above), a former national head of counter-terrorism, to investigate the claims. Academy boss Ian Kershaw produced another report for Birmingham city council.

John said, "Clarke was too close to Michael Gove. And Michael Gove had already accepted what the 21 Ofsted reports had said." But the book described how the Ofsted inspections were "not independent".

Claims that the initial Park View report was less damning raised the question of "whether there had been an intervention from higher officials at Ofsted or the DfE".

DfE officials, along with then education secretary Michael Gove, "did their best to exert their influence" throughout.

Kershaw concluded that there was "no evidence of a conspiracy to promote an anti-British agenda, violent extremism or radicalisation". Clarke concluded that there was no evidence of "terrorism, radicalisation or violent extremism". But he claimed there was religious conservatism.

"Facts" reported in the press appeared in the report. But "none had been properly tested". There was "no attempt to reconcile different accounts" from witnesses.

More shocking was to come. "I thought Clarke hadn't interviewed people who were in a position to give him an alternative account," said John. "It turned out he had, but didn't give space to that in the report."

The withholding of evidence led to the collapse of the NCTL cases.

Hundreds packed into a meeting in Birmingham last month against the Islamophobia whipped up by the Trojan Horse hoax. The original venue was cancelled after the intervention of the Daily Telegraph newspaper



"prejudged the National College of Teaching and Leadership hearings". It lent the "weight of government pressure" for the panel to find against the teachers.

The head teacher at Park View was a white feminist," said John. "There was another senior leader from a Sikh background.

"People were acting across faith lines to do good. It showed that parents and teachers can make a difference. That's a really positive story that the local community would appreciate being told."

Ofsted inspections shifted to "routinely assess schools on how well they promote fundamental British values".

The government claims that this helped Muslim students. The opposite is true. Park View was once one of the most successful schools in England. Now its results are below the national average.

It was rated inadequate until last year when Ofsted declared it "good"—still below the "outstanding" rating it achieved before Trojan Horse.

"Michael Fallon opened his new programme for army cadets at Rockwood school, the successor to Park View," said John. "He said the army is a good route to mobility for children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

"But they had the best route to mobility before this."

John said the impact on children's education has been "severe". Muslim parents now fear voicing "concerns about their children's education".

"It's made them wary about expressing Islamic culture," he said. "Home schooling has gone up."

It was the Trojan Horse lies that segregated Muslims, not Muslim teachers. And they turned a positive into a negative.

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The government claims that this helped Muslim students. The opposite is true. Park View was once one of the most successful schools in England. Now its results are below the national average.

"There is only one exemplar the government gives for Prevent and that's Trojan Horse," said John. "If you feel strongly about the civil rights aspects of Prevent, you have to confront Trojan Horse. Otherwise you allow the Prevent agenda's one supposed 'success' to stand unchallenged."

Countering Extremism in British Schools? The Truth about the Birmingham Trojan Horse Affair by John Holmwood and Therese O'Toole. Available from Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to bookmarksbookshop.co.uk

WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism. In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests. We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to www.swp.org.uk or phone 020 7840 5602 for more information

{ SOCIALIST WORKER } PUBLIC MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM: CITY CENTRE

The Black Panthers and revolution today

Wed 6 Dec, 7pm, Birmingham LGBT Centre, 38/40 Holloway Circus, B1 1EQ

LONDON: WALTHAM FOREST

Abortion Wars—the fight for reproductive rights

Book launch with Judith Orr Wed 13 Dec, 7.30pm, William Morris Community Centre, 6-8 Greenleaf Rd, E17 6QQ

PORTSMOUTH

Abortion Wars—the fight for reproductive rights

Book launch with Judith Orr Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Somerstown Community Centre, River's St, PO5 4EZ

SHEFFIELD: CITY CENTRE

Abortion Wars—the fight for reproductive rights

Book launch with Judith Orr Tue 5 Dec, 7pm, Central United Reformed Church, 60 Norfolk St (near Crucible Theatre), S1 2JB

{ SOCIALIST WORKER } BRANCH MEETINGS

Weekly meetings to discuss political issues and our local interventions. All welcome.

BARNESLEY

The Tories, benefits and Universal Credit

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, YMCA, Blucher St, S70 1AP

BRADFORD

Catalonia—independence and resistance

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, Glyde House, Little Horton Lane (opposite ice rink), BD5 0BQ

BURNLEY AND PENDLE

100 years after the Balfour Declaration—how can Palestine be free?

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Red Triangle Cafe, 160 St James's St, BB11 1NR

CAMBRIDGE

The Russian Revolution—the impact on the colonial world

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, River Lane Centre, River Lane, CB5 8HP

CARDIFF

Why are strikes so important?

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Cathays Community Centre, Cathays Terrace, CF24 4HX

CHESTERFIELD

Sexism and the system—the fight for women's liberation

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, Chesterfield Library, New Beetwell St, S40 1QN

EDINBURGH

Sexism and the system—the fight for women's liberation

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Friends Meeting House, 7 Victoria St, EH1 2JL

EXETER

Sexual violence and harassment—what's the answer?

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, Exeter Community Centre, 17 St. Davids Hill, EX4 3RG

We are on Twitter @socialistworker

Find us on Facebook Socialist Worker (Britain)

SOCIALIST WORKER PUBLIC MEETINGS

ROBERT MUGABE, ex-president of Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, Mugabe and colonialism

BRISTOL

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, YHA, 14 Narrow Quay, BS1 4QA

DUDLEY

Wed 13 Dec, 8pm, The What Centre, 23 Coventry St, Stourbridge, DY8 1EP

DONCASTER

Myanmar and the Rohingya—the bloody price of Islamophobia

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, The Women's Centre (Changing Lives), 5 Princes St, DN1 3NJ

EDINBURGH

Sexism and the system—the fight for women's liberation

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Friends Meeting House, 7 Victoria St, EH1 2JL

EXETER

Sexual violence and harassment—what's the answer?

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, Exeter Community Centre, 17 St. Davids Hill, EX4 3RG

LONDON: BRENT AND HARROW

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, The Pepperpot Centre, 1a Thorpe Close, Ladbroke Grove, W10 5XL

LONDON: BRIXTON

Wed 6 Dec, 7pm, Vida Walsh Centre, 2b Saltoun Rd, SW2 1EP

GLASGOW

Red Rosa—the life of revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, Avant Garde, 33-44 King St, Merchant City, G1 5QT

HUDDERSFIELD

Alternative facts, truth and power—media in the 21st century

Wed 6 Dec, 6.30pm, Brian Jackson House, 2 New North Parade (near both train and bus stations), LS3 1AD

LIVERPOOL

100 years after the Balfour Declaration—how can Palestine be free?

Wed 6 Dec, 7pm, Friends Meeting House, 22 School Ln, L1 3BT

LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE

100 years after the Russian Revolution—why is Lenin still relevant today?

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, Friends Meeting House, Meeting House Lane, LA1 1TX

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LONDON: TOWER HAMLETS

Wed 6 Dec, 7pm, Oxford House, Derbyshire St, E2 6HG

NEWCASTLE

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, Commercial Union House, 39 Pilgrim St, NE1 6QE

LEEDS: CITY CENTRE

Russia 1917—festival of the oppressed

Thu 7 Dec, 7pm, The Swarthmore Education Centre, 2-7 Woodhouse Square, LS3 1AD

LIVERPOOL

100 years after the Balfour Declaration—how can Palestine be free?

Wed 6 Dec, 7pm, Friends Meeting House, 22 School Ln, L1 3BT

LONDON: EALING

Is socialism possible?

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Phone us on **020 7840 5656**

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Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, Vauxhall Centre, Johnson Place, NR2 2SA

YORK

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Sea Horse Hotel, 4 Fawcett St, YO10 4AH

LONDON: HACKNEY

100 years since the Balfour Declaration—how can Palestine be free?

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, The Round Chapel, 2 Powerscourt Rd, E5 0PU

LONDON: LEWISHAM

100 years on—why do we celebrate the Russian Revolution?

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, West Greenwich Community and Arts Centre, 141 Greenwich High Rd, SE10 8JA

LONDON: WALTHAM FOREST

Why we need a revolutionary party

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, William Morris Community Centre, 6-8 Greenleaf Rd, E17 6QQ

MANCHESTER: CENTRAL

Zombie government—how do we finally topple the Tories?

Wed 6 Dec, 7pm, Friends Meeting House, 6 Mount St, M2 5NS

MEDWAY

Going beyond the binary—Marxism, gender and trans politics

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, Nucleus Arts Centre (Conference Room), 272 High St, ME4 4BP

ROTHERHAM

Sexism and the system—the fight for women's liberation

Wed 20 Dec, 7pm, Talbot Lane Methodist Church Centre, Moorgate St, S60 2EY

SWANSEA

100 years since the Russian Revolution—did Lenin lead to Stalin?

Thu 7 Dec, 7.30pm, Brynmill Community Centre, St Albans Rd, SA20BP

TELFORD

100 years after the Balfour Declaration—how can Palestine be free?

Thu 14 Dec, 7.30pm, Carriages, The Parade, Wellington, TF1 1PY

WOLVERHAMPTON AND WALSALL

How can we stop the rise of racism and the far right?

Wed 6 Dec, 7.30pm, Wild Bytes Cafe, Darlington St, WV1 4HW

{ STAND UP TO RACISM }

NATIONAL

Solidarity convoy to Calais

Sat 9 Dec, Winter appeal organised with Care4Calais. For details of how to send donations, support or join the convoy, go to bit.ly/2yA5VpR

Stand Up To Racism Trade Union Conference

Sat 10 Feb 2018, 11am-4.30pm, Central London. Register at bit.ly/2jj3p0p

March against racism

Sat 17 Mar 2018, Demonstrations in London, Glasgow and Cardiff.

BRIGHTON

Islamophobia and Prevent

Sun 3 Dec, 2pm-5pm, Brighton Community Base, Queen's Rd, BN1 3XG. Hosted with Brighton & Hove Muslim Forum

{ MOVEMENT EVENTS }

NATIONAL

Marxism Festival

Thu 5 Jul—Sun 8 Jul 2018, Central London. marxismfestival.org.uk

DORCHESTER

Sexism and the system—the fight for women's liberation

Sat 2 Dec, 1.30pm, Colliton Club, Colliton Park, DT1 1XJ. Organised by Dorset Socialists

CONTACT THE SWP



Tennis comedy serves up a set of anti-sexism from 1973

New film *Battle of the Sexes* shows the sexism of the 1970s and one of the battles against it, but misses the broader context, argues **Stephanie Onamade**

THE BATTLE of *The Sexes* portrays the journey of female tennis player Billie Jean King as she speaks out against the sexism within the world of tennis in the 1970s.

We watch a determined young athlete, played by Emma Stone, struggle to get her voice heard as she demands higher pay for women tennis players.

Men take much bigger prize winnings home than women in tournaments despite selling the same amount of tickets.

King is faced with a backlash of sexist comments such as, "at the very top it's a man's game."

Despite all this King aims to prove that women should be paid the same and respected equally as men.

Her journey begins when she defiantly starts a boycott of a tournament along with the other top women players at the time. The men's prize is eight times that of the women's.

"The men are simply more exciting to watch," King is told. They are "Stronger, faster, more competitive," supposedly.

Chauvinist

The action of the film centres on a 1973 match between King and the self-described chauvinist Bobby Riggs, played by Steve Carell.

Riggs challenged King in order to prove the supposedly innate superiority of men.

The film drips with the sexism that was, and still is, pumped out through every part of the media.

King is told, "You're definitely cuter than the men" and that, "the male muscle is a little stronger than the female muscle". A common



EMMA STONE (centre) plays Billie Jean King in *Battle of the Sexes*

theme the director uses to effectively portray the oppression of women is through a lack of freedom to act on what feels right.

King's love affair with her female hairdresser is portrayed as forbidden—which it was by society.

Understandably she gives ground to this huge pressure in places, calling her lover a "phase".

The sense of shame women are

forced to feel through stigmatisation is palpable.

Like many mainstream films, there are problems. It focuses on one woman's personal struggle as a defining point in the fight for women's liberation.

Seismic shifts were happening in society outside the tennis court. While these are referenced in the film, the link could be more explicit.

Riggs did not throw down his challenge for the sake of it. He saw an opportunity to hold back the growing mood for change in society, and took it.

Despite this, the film is definitely an enjoyable look at a snapshot of part of society in a time of social turmoil.

The *Battle of the Sexes* is in cinemas now

Fight for homes finds artistic expression in Teesside

EXHIBITION

THE IDEA HOME SHOW

At the Middlesbrough Institute of Modern Art (MIMA) until 18 February 2018.

For more information on the exhibition and MIMA, go to bit.ly/2zHEj2k

THE NAME of this exhibition is a twist on the Ideal Home Show.

The exhibition is split into three separate rooms.

A Room of Our Own looks at the home through cooperative production and creative thinking.

Untitled (city plan)

is a display looking at cultural identity within the development of an urban landscape.

Relating

The Housing Question addresses the social issues relating to housing across the twentieth century.

From the Abahlali base Mjondolo in South Africa to the settlement house movement in London, it focuses on the fight for decent living conditions in a capitalist society.

The Housing Study Day was filled with presentations, workshops,

discussions and a film Q+A.

This invited local people to be a part of the discourse on social housing.

It is always tenants and residents who are consulted last and whose needs are ignored, so this was an opportunity to reverse that.

MIMA has been involved in organising educational arts programmes alongside housing organisations which will have a direct impact on the local community.

They hope to come up

with a list of alternative community design ideas to issue to the council in order to pressure developers into putting the community first.

If they are successful it could be a useful tool for housing campaigns.

Decorated

The walls of the main exhibition space are decorated with quotes from the Marxist revolutionary Frederick Engels.

But anti-capitalist politics don't feature prominently.

The exhibition could be seen as an attempt to work with developers on regeneration schemes in the hopes they can add an element of public pressure.

Ultimately, we need to turn Engels' words into action.

He wrote, "The solution to the housing question lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of life and labour by the working class itself."

Antony Hamilton

EXHIBITION

TOVE JANSSON

Dulwich Picture Gallery, Gallery Road, SE21 7AD
Until 28 January 2018
Tickets from £6.25

THIS EXHIBITION features the work of the creator of the Moomins. Of particular interest are the anti-fascist illustrations Jansson designed for magazine covers in the 1940s.

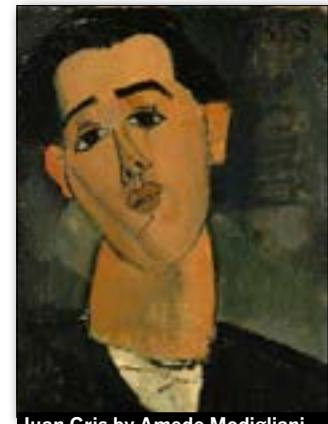
Her other work on show includes haunting early paintings of night time scenes.

EXHIBITION

MODIGLIANI

Tate Modern, Bankside, London SE1 9TG
Until 2 April 2018
Tickets from £15.90

THE TATE Modern is hosting a major retrospective on the work of twentieth century Italian



Juan Gris by Amedeo Modigliani

artist Amedeo Modigliani.

Police censored the first exhibition of his nudes in 1917. The exhibition also features a virtual reality depiction of his studio in Paris.

TOP 5 BOOKS

Bestsellers at Bookmarks, the socialist Bookshop

1 **Abortion Wars—the Fight for Reproductive Rights**
Judith Orr

2 **Lenin for Today**
John Molyneux

3 **Memphis 68—the Tragedy of Southern Soul**
Stuart Cosgrove

4 **October—the Story of the Russian Revolution**
China Mieville

5 **Forty Miles of Bad Road**
Rick Blackman

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bookmarksbookshop.co.uk
Why not visit the shop at 1 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QE

THERESA May claimed that Britain was "Zimbabwe's oldest friend" after Robert Mugabe's downfall last week.

But with "friends" like Britain, Zimbabwe would not need enemies.

Zimbabwe suffered more than a century of British colonialism and white minority rule. It only won independence in 1980, much later than many of Britain's other African colonies.

Before that a minority of 225,000 whites ruled over 5 million black people through repression and murder.

Black people were locked out of political power by racist legislation and forced to work for white capitalist farmers and mining bosses. A year before independence 5 percent of the population still owned 70 percent of the most fertile land.

This apartheid-style set up was no accident.

Until 1980 Zimbabwe was called Southern Rhodesia, named after the racist and imperialist Cecil Rhodes.

Rhodes made his money from diamonds in South Africa in the 1870s.

At the time South Africa was made up of two British colonies and Dutch settler "Boer republics". Rhodes bought up the mining rights on the De Beers farm in the Boer Orange Free State.

Through brutal exploitation of African workers and industrial sabotage of rivals, Rhodes' De Beers Corporation became a world monopoly. It retained its position until the 2000s—and still plagues the region.

Rhodes was determined to increase the profits of De Beers and South African capitalism and extend British imperialism's reach.

He founded the British South Africa Company (BSAC), a corporation with its own paramilitary force. This was a vehicle for Rhodes' imperialist ambitions throughout southern Africa.

Concession

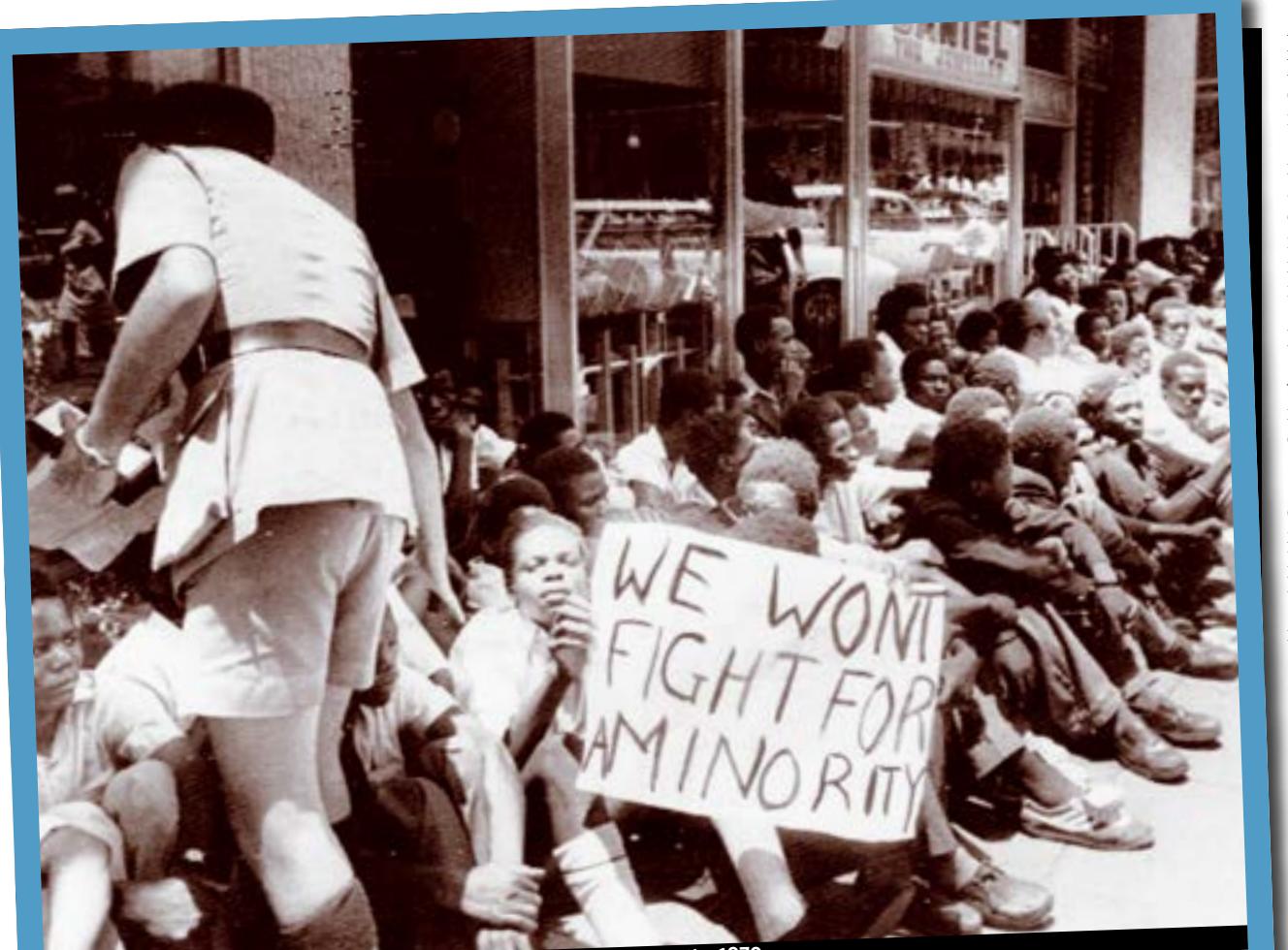
It turned its gaze to the area north of the Limpopo River, modern-day Zimbabwe and Zambia.

In 1888 the Ndebele people's king, Lobengula, sold mining and land rights to Rhodes, known as the "Rudd Concession".

Rhodes used this as a pretext for invading the lands in 1893.

Armed with a murderous new invention—the Maxim machine gun—BSAC troops swept through the territories.

They were "mowing them down literally like grass" according to an eyewitness to the Battle of Shangani, where 1,500 Ndebele were murdered with



YOUNG PEOPLE resist being called up to the Rhodesian armed forces in the 1970s

COLONIAL CRIMES IN ZIMBABWE

As Mugabe's henchman Emmerson Mnangagwa takes the reins of the Zimbabwean state, Tomáš Tengely-Evans looks at how the crimes of imperialists shaped the country's history

just four deaths in the BSAC.

Rhodes wrote a racist rant to the Cape Colony's prime minister Sir Gordon Sprigg after the battle. "The shooting must have been excellent," he fantasised. "It proves the white men were not only brave, but cool, and did not lose their heads, though surrounded with the hordes."

Some British MPs were worried at the scale of the atrocities and argued Rhodes had unnecessarily provoked the Ndebele.

Lord Rippon, the Liberal Party colonial secretary, made

sure Rhodes and BSAC were exonerated in an inquiry.

Zimbabwe was caught in the crossfire of Rhodes's ruthless ambition and the "scramble for Africa" by European powers.

Rhodes was an adventurer and often clashed with the British government.

But when Zimbabwe was colonised their interests coincided. In 1890 the vast majority of Africa was still ruled by Africans.

Britain, France and Portugal

had African colonies that hugged the coast, and would often buy local ruling classes instead of imposing direct rule.

But by the late 19th century rival European powers, such as Belgium and Germany, had caught up with British capitalism. Competition for overseas markets, particularly in Africa, increased sharply.

Britain needed to grab more land.

Historian Thomas Pakenham, whose father was the penultimate British colonial secretary, described the process in *The Scramble for Africa*.

"Africa was sliced up like a cake, the pieces swallowed by five rival nations—Germany, Italy, Portugal, France and Britain," he wrote.

Zimbabwe was colonised and ruled by BSAC until direct rule in 1923.

Rhodes brought in the brutal "compound system" for black workers, effectively a prison camp for workers.

White settlers from the Cape moved to Rhodesia during the 1900s slump and BSAC grants encouraged them to stay. This meant that there was a white settler ruling class, not just British colonial officials.

The whites wanted to maintain apartheid rule without any reform. Britain was sometimes willing to make concessions if its imperialist interests were protected. But those interests also pitted Britain's rulers against the black population.

AND THE racist ideology of British imperialism includes support for its white "kin and kith".

BBC Radio Four presenter John Humphreys said last week, "This sounds almost racist but... some of the white farmers who owned a lot of land knew what to do".

But after the Second World War the tide was turning against British colonialism.

Britain was a bankrupt, declining power and reliant on the US, which wanted the African market for itself.

This caused a crisis for the imperialist patricians of the Tory party, who seemed more and more out of touch both at home and abroad. Sections of the establishment, such as the previously Tory supporting Observer newspaper, came out for African decolonisation.

And, crucially, Britain and the white settlers were facing a growing wave of resistance from the black majority.

From the 1930s Rhodes pushed through a programme of rapid industrialisation. White capitalists' profits grew.

But so did a black working class with the power to overthrow them.

Throughout the period workers set up trade unions and looked for their own political

representation. In 1947 railworkers' leader Joshua Nkomo set up the Southern Rhodesian branch of African National Congress.

By 1960 Tory prime minister Harold Macmillan was forced to tell a stony-faced crowd of South African MPs that "the wind of change is blowing through this continent.

"Whether we like it or not, this growth of national consciousness is a political fact," he said.

Southern Rhodesia's white rulers didn't like it one bit.

They looked to the Rhodesian Front of Ian Smith, an open racist and friend of the queen mother. It came to power in 1964 promising to resist the British Labour government's call for majority rule.

Thrown

Black opposition groups were banned and suppressed. Their leaders, including Mugabe, were thrown into jail.

And the following year prime minister Smith unilaterally declared independence as the Republic of Rhodesia.

Britain again played a shameful role, not wishing to sabotage its interests. The black opposition leaders had looked to Harold Wilson's Labour government for help—and Labour did nothing apart from entering talks with Smith.

With South African help, Smith's regime survived. Half-hearted UN sanctions were imposed. But British oil companies continued to secretly pump cash into Rhodesia's economy through South Africa and Mozambique.

More radical opposition organisations, such as Mugabe's Zanu, grew and launched a guerrilla war against the white regime.

Smith responded with terror. In 1974 he launched a mass "counter insurgency" campaign, based on US tactics used against the Vietnamese national liberation movement.

Bulldozers and flamethrowers defoliated 54,000 square miles of Zimbabwean countryside. Troops set up "free fire zones" in these areas—where anyone could be shot on sight.

And it combined with a terror campaign against the black population through martial law, interment and resettlement. Some 10,000 freedom fighters and 8,000

black people were murdered. The turning point came in 1974 when Mozambique overthrew its Portuguese imperialist rulers. The Zimbabwean national liberation organisations Zanu and Zapatista could use it as a base.

Smith was forced to the negotiating table at Lancaster House and agreed to free elections.

Still the British, now under Margaret Thatcher, hoped to regain control of the situation by backing moderate black leaders.

But Mugabe won because he promised not to compromise with white rule.

And when Mugabe took the land of the white farmers in 2000, Tony Blair sided with the white farmers. Even Tory Max Hastings responded that the whites were not the hard done by party.

Mugabe turned from independence hero to dictator, and the British opportunistically point to his crimes. They have not forgiven Zimbabweans for winning independence.

The biggest crimes of all in Zimbabwe are British imperialism and white rule.

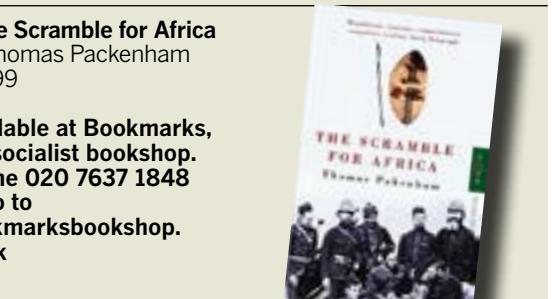
READ MORE

● Dripping blood from every pore—why Rhodes must fall
by Charlie Kimber available at bit.ly/2zmDTud

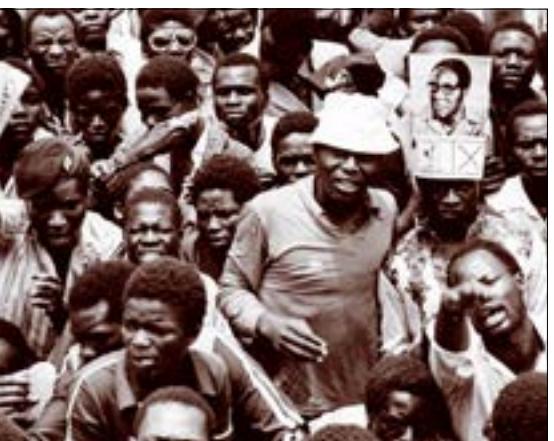
Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to bookmarksbookshop.co.uk

● The Scramble for Africa
by Thomas Pakenham £15.99

● Zimbabwe—imperialism, hypocrisy and fake nationalism
by Leo Zelig available at bit.ly/2B8Rc1G



Civil War laid the basis for the end of the revolution



The bloodshed of the Civil War shows that the ruling class will do anything to stop revolution

THE CIVIL War in Russia showed the lengths the ruling class is prepared to go to crush a revolution.

By the end of the war in 1920, 14 foreign armies had invaded Russia to fight alongside the White army led by Kornilov and other Tsarist generals.

Trotsky was a talented leader of the Red Army, and the way the troops fought and won was remarkable.

In his biography of Trotsky, Tony Cliff described the way Trotsky understood the war. "He saw the civil war as an integral part of the revolution, as an extension of the class struggle culminating in the consolidation of political power," Cliff wrote.

The challenge Trotsky faced when he took control of the army in 1918 was immense.

The Tsarist army of nine million had melted away throughout the revolution.

There were perhaps some 30,000 Red Guards in Moscow and Petrograd combined. But these were irregular and badly armed troops that wouldn't be much use in a pitched battle with imperialist-backed troops.

Mugabe turned from independence hero to dictator, and the British opportunistically point to his crimes. They have not forgiven Zimbabweans for winning independence.

The biggest crimes of all in Zimbabwe are British imperialism and white rule.

The people who had made the revolution were most willing to fight and die for it.

The same dynamics that had shaped the revolution shaped the war.

And there was often little choice but to impose military discipline.

But this led to the erosion of soviet democracy and the rise of the bureaucracy that would later form the spine of Joseph Stalin's counter-revolution.

Despite the enormous heroism of the people who fought to defend their revolution, the processes unlocked by the war would place that revolution in danger.

"**Volunteers committed to the revolution formed the core of the army**



1917 TIMELINE

21-23 November (4-6 December in the modern calendar)

● The Soviet Government publishes a decree allowing citizens to recall politicians from office.

● Two days later day it publishes a decree limiting the salaries of high paid officials.

within the army was essential to inspire revolutionary soldiers to fight.

Hundreds of thousands of workers and members of the Communist Party flocked to the army.

Trotsky travelled from front to front in an armoured train, covering over 60,000 miles.

The most effective units were generally those with the highest concentration of working class soldiers.

The people who had made the revolution were most willing to fight and die for it.

The same dynamics that had shaped the revolution shaped the war.

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a counter-revolutionary opposition that was divided and unable to win any mass support from ordinary people.

But the war was a drain on the class and the party which had made the revolution.

Front

Communists were the first to respond to a new crisis on the front.

"Local party organisations have met their obligations twice and thrice over," wrote Trotsky.

That meant that some 200,000 Communists died in the war.

The entire economy was also geared to the war—and decimated by the end of it.

Despite attempts to maintain democratic control of the army, Cliff wrote,

"It was in the Red Army, more than in any other arm of the state, that party democracy gave way to the completely bureaucratic, non-elective principle."

It was necessary to centralise decision-making for the war.

And there was often little choice but to impose military discipline.

But this led to the erosion of soviet democracy and the rise of the bureaucracy that would later form the spine of Joseph Stalin's counter-revolution.

Despite the enormous heroism of the people who fought to defend their revolution, the processes unlocked by the war would place that revolution in danger.

This is part of a series of weekly articles on the Russian Revolution tinyurl.com/sw1917

Why Universal Credit cannot be fixed

by DAVE SEWELL

THERE IS growing anger about the effects of Universal Credit (UC). So what's to be done?

Labour's policy, as summed up in the slogan of planned protests next week, is to "pause and fix" it. A better one might be "stop and scrap".

UC is beyond fixing. At its core is a drive to use the benefits system to monitor and manipulate the poor.

UC replaces jobseeker's allowance (JSA), employment support allowance (ESA), housing benefit, income support, working tax credit and child tax credit.

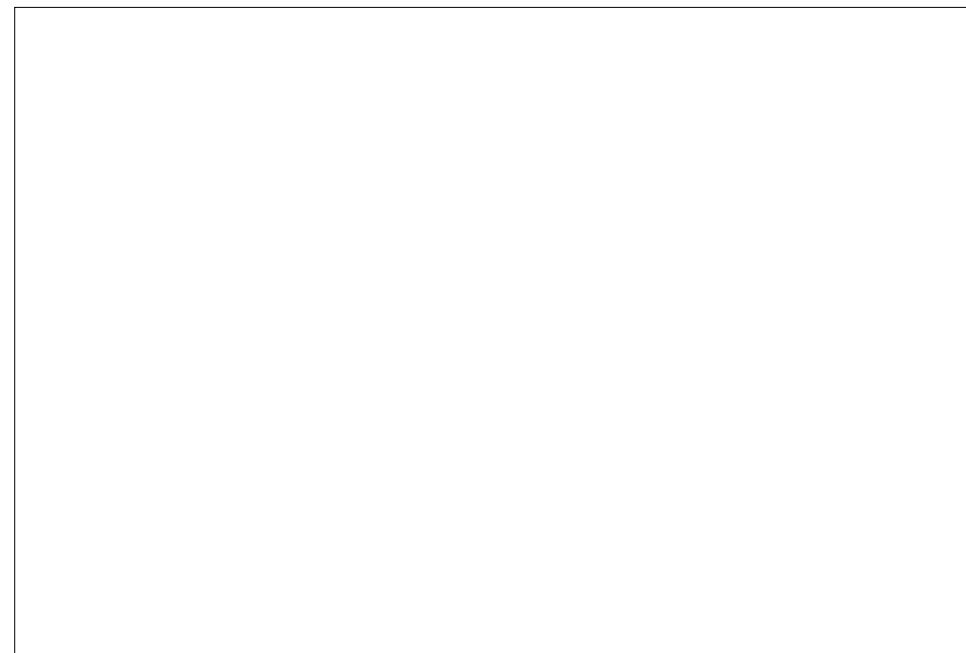
It combines them into one monthly payment. This is presented as simplifying the benefits system, which sounds reasonable.

Difficulty

But the difficulty the Tories have had implementing it hints at the truth.

Replacing several simpler databases with one more complicated one can make the total more complicated.

That's not always a terrible



IAN DUNCAN Smith had a cunning plan—and it hinged on Universal Credit

thing, but you'd need a compelling reason to do it. And the Tories have one.

Getting all the information about someone's benefits in one place makes it easier to check up on them—and punish them.

Take the benefit cap.

People receive different benefits to meet different needs. Paying the rent doesn't feed and clothe the children, or vice versa. So housing benefit and child benefit claims can be handled separately.

But the government wanted to make a show of

scapegoating, and clamping down on, the households who claimed the most in total. For that it needed to link their payments together.

UC is the brainchild of Iain Duncan Smith who, after failing as Tory leader, reinvented himself with a crusade to

change the poor. The Tories and the rich pretend that poverty is caused not by their system but by the failings or bad decisions of those at the bottom.

Duncan Smith, armed with a think tank and the odd theatrical tear, said he could improve those people's decisions by taking money off them. Tory concerns about an interfering "nanny state" don't apply to everyone.

Duncan Smith's bedroom tax means people can get their full housing benefit only if they move to a smaller home.

"Only if" provisions like this are called "conditionalities". Two of the worst were introduced by the last Labour government.

Hoops

You can get ESA only if you keep proving you're sick enough. You can get JSA only if you jump through hoops to prove you're looking hard enough for work.

UC extends JSA's "sanctions" to low paid workers, who must now prove that they're looking for more or better paid work. It denies child benefit to children with

two older siblings—Duncan Smith's Victorian mission to stop the poor breeding.

Once in place it will make it easier to impose more conditionalities.

The drive to do this partly comes from bosses hoping to cut labour costs.

Making life a nightmare for the unemployed and underemployed can help frighten workers into accepting worse conditions rather than risk joining them.

The Labour right hates UC because it replaced Working Tax Credit, a subsidy for a low wage economy that they are perversely proud of introducing.

But they accept its logic and won't oppose it on principle. Even the Labour left is nervous about losing votes by looking too "soft" on benefit claimants.

But ducking right wing arguments only entrenches them. Scapegoating must be confronted, not pandered to.

Universal Credit gives the rich an extra weapon against the poor. It must be smashed. Day of action called by Unite Community, Sat 2 December, see bit.ly/2BbJEwf

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Vicious housing attack is on the rocks in Haringey

Plans for a regeneration project by a Labour-run council has split the local party—and campaigning has pushed back the right, says **Alistair Farrow**

 **ACTIVISTS, tenants, councillors and housing bosses are intently watching events unfold in Haringey, north London.**

At stake is the Haringey Development Vehicle (HDV). Pushed by the Labour council, it is a £2 billion housing regeneration project that will see seven estates—some 5,000 homes—demolished if it goes ahead.

Tenants have been told they have the right to return to their estates after the redevelopment. But they have been given no written reassurance they will have the same tenancies.

The HDV has split the borough Labour Party.

The selection process for nominating Labour candidates for the May 2018 local elections is well underway. The majority of candidates selected so far oppose the HDV—26 against to seven for.

A strong, united campaign involving hundreds of tenants and residents has made the HDV politically toxic.

Prominent councillors who supported it have withdrawn from the selection process.

Pro-HDV councillor Tim Gallagher has pulled out entirely, describing Haringey Labour as “inflamed with division, distrust, and what at times what feels like hatred among party members”.

Changed

Other Labour councillors who previously supported the HDV have changed their position.

Councillor Adam Joge has moved to the anti-HDV camp.

He had been described as a “baby terrapin” by Peter Bingle—the boss of Terrapin PR, which brokered the HDV



A PROTEST against the “Haringey Development Vehicle” that would demolish 5,000 homes

deal with developer Lendlease.

At the Labour Party conference earlier this year the party’s leader Jeremy Corbyn promised tenants votes on redevelopment projects.

Haringey’s Lead councillor for housing Alan Strickland lashed out at Corbyn’s proposal. He has now stood down from the reselection contest.

However, pro-HDV councillors will be in place up until the May elections. That means they could have an opportunity to push through parts of the HDV, if not the whole thing.

Pressure needs to be applied on them ruthlessly so they can’t entrench the HDV. Protests are a crucial way of applying that pressure.

The partial victory of the anti-HDV group within Labour has been a real boost to the campaign.

What comes next is important—there will be debates about what kind of housing the council can provide when faced with Tory cuts.

Some Labour members in the anti-HDV campaign are not necessarily opposed to all redevelopments.

“There’s a possibility to have a development vehicle owned by the council 100 percent,” one Labour Party member told Socialist Worker.

“People opposed to the HDV would not necessarily be against that.”

It’s vital to push forward with the united, mass campaign until the HDV is defeated.

On other pages...

Anger over Bradford council’s cuts to children’s services >>Page 20

Campaigners plan resistance as Tories on back foot

 **A BUOYANT mood ran through a housing summit on Saturday.**

Some 200 housing campaigners, tenants and residents came together to discuss the way forward for the housing movement.

The summit was organised by groups including Homes For All, formerly known as Axe the Housing Act.

People celebrated the partial defeat of the Tories’ hated Housing and Planning Act 2016. Defend Council

Housing campaign chair Eileen Short described it as a “zombie” piece of legislation.

News of the setbacks for the HDV (see above) lifted the summit.

The horror of the Grenfell Tower fire was a reminder of what’s at stake.

A minute’s silence was held for the victims of austerity, including people who died at Grenfell.

Fire Brigade Union general secretary Matt Wrack described the fire as an “atrocious”.



Jeremy Corbyn sent a message
He said it was “the consequence of three and a half decades of deregulation”.
Moyra Samuels from the Justice4Grenfell campaign announced a

demonstration at the last council meeting of the year.

Meetings about housing and mental health, housing associations, estate management and the impact of Universal Credit (UC) all came up with concrete proposals to take the movement forward.

Paula Peters from Disabled People Against Cuts said there would be a national day of action against UC in the new year.

And Labour leader

Jeremy Corbyn sent a message to the summit.

“I want to see a return to building high quality, energy efficient council housing, with secure tenancies and truly affordable rents,” it said.

“Real justice for Grenfell means a society where there’s decent, secure, truly affordable and safe homes for all.

“The next Labour government will deliver that.”

Join the protest 6 December, 6pm, Kensington and Chelsea Town Hall, W87NX



Safety issues since Grenfell

 SINCE the Grenfell Tower fire in June, London Fire Brigade has issued 51 enforcement notices on high rise buildings.

It’s almost double the 26 the body issued the previous year.

Enforcement notices are issued when there has been a failure to comply with fire safety laws.



Homes from Hammond?

 TORY chancellor Philip Hammond announced in the budget plans to build 300,000 homes a year by 2025.

Even if the target is reached, it isn’t clear who will be able to afford them.

Last year over 200,000 homes were built. Just 2.5 percent of them were for social rents.



Right to Buy sell-offs on rise

 THE number of housing association homes sold under the Thatcherite Right to Buy policy increased by 18 percent last year.

Some 4,694 social homes were sold under Right to Buy.

That’s a rise from 3,977 in the previous year.

In total 23,186 homes were sold off in 2016/17.

IN BRIEF

Bus drivers strike for union rights

BUS WORKERS at Quality Line based in Epsom, Surrey, were set to strike on Monday in a dispute over union recognition.

The RMT is the biggest union at the depot but the company has refused recognition. It agreed a deal with Unite, which has only a few members at the depot.

March for right to picket in Brighton

SOME 30 trade unionists marched through Brighton train station in defence of workers' rights on Saturday of last week.

Brighton Trades Council called the protest after Network Rail management tried to stop RMT union members picketing outside the station during last month's rail strikes.

Sparks could fly at generator factory

WORKERS AT Cummins Generator Technologies in Stamford, Lincolnshire, are preparing for a ballot for industrial action amid planned job losses.

Bosses plan to close one of the firm's sites next year, threatening 300 jobs, and are offering workers a "transition deal" worth £3,500.

Workers rejected this by 96 percent in a Unite union ballot. Unite wants £15,000.

But the ballot is over the lack of consultation, specifically bosses' refusal to meet Unite national officer Linda McCulloch.

Protest against housing bosses

HOUSING campaigners are set to protest outside The Big Housing Debate event on 7 December.

The conference brings together housing bosses.

• The protest is at 11.30am at Barbican Centre, EC2Y 8DS

Cleaners balloted over living wage

OUTSOURCED cleaners at Lee Hecht Harrison in the City of London are being balloted for strikes for the London Living Wage of £10.20 an hour. They are members of the United Voices of the World union.

People's Assembly protests at budget

THE PEOPLE'S Assembly held protests against Tory chancellor Philip Hammond's budget on Tuesday of last week.

Activists collected for food banks in London, Manchester and dozens of other towns and cities.

The People's Assembly is also set to release a Christmas song. Follow [#ToriesOutForXmas](#)

HIGHER EDUCATION



STUDENTS JOINED the picket line to support their lecturers

PICTURE: UCU BRIGHTON

CLEANERS



Marching in central London

PICTURE: GUY SWALMANS

Cleaners march to sweep away outsourcing bosses

by ALISTAIR FARROW

A DEMONSTRATION on Tuesday of last week drew attention to a new legal challenge against outsourcing firms.

As many as 300 people protested outside Senate House in central London.

Outsourced workers at the University of London (UoL) are demanding to be taken in-house.

The change would mean they are entitled to the same rates of pay and security as workers employed directly by the university.

Outsourced cleaner Henry said, "UoL doesn't care about us. They treat us differently compared to the other employees."

The legal challenge would mean outsourced workers could bargain over wages and terms and conditions with the company that

subcontracted out the work. For instance, it would give outsourced workers the ability to negotiate with UoL, bypassing their direct employer Cordant.

Casualisation

Petros Elia from the United Voices of the World union argued that small unions were better at calling their members out and winning victories.

"It doesn't matter how many members you've got," he said.

Small unions have led some impressive campaigns. But numbers do matter and it's important to fight for strikes in the big unions.

Sandy Nicoll from the Unison union at Soas university pointed to the victory which cleaners at Soas—Unison members—celebrated earlier this year when they were brought in-house.

DRIVERS

DELIVEROO DRIVERS struck in Brighton on Saturday night.

The IWGB union tweeted, "Big strike in Brighton tonight. Deliveroo we want a hiring freeze, £5 a drop and no trade union victimisation."

• TAXI FIRM Uber is taking its appeal against a legal challenge over its

employment practices to the supreme court.

The Employment Appeal Tribunal ruled that drivers should be seen as workers not self-employed.

It also emerged last week that Uber covered up a data breach of 57 million customers' details.

This increases the pressure on the company.

SCHOOLS ROUND UP

Say no to academisation

TEACHERS AT Avenue Primary School in Newham, east London, were set to strike on Thursday against plans to transfer the school to the EKO Academy Trust.

And teachers at Cumberland School in the same borough are balloting for strikes against academisation.

It follows an 88 percent vote for strikes in an indicative ballot.

• Messages of support to carolynmcgrath@cumberland.org.uk

• PARENTS AT Bangabandhu School in Tower Hamlets protested against the school's management on Monday.

GMB union members at the school said that the acting head teacher had changed their conditions without proper consultation.

• THE NASUWT union suspended a planned strike at three schools in East Dunbartonshire after the council agreed to talks.

NASUWT members had also planned strikes at St Andrew's Secondary School, Eastbank Academy and All Saints Secondary School earlier this month.

The union called them off after Glasgow City Council threatened legal action.

CIVIL SERVICE

Testing times for driving instructors

DRIVING EXAMINERS in the PCS union are set to stage a 48-hour strike on Monday and Tuesday next week in a dispute over working hours.

The examiners, who work for the Driver and Vehicle Standards Agency (DVSA)

also began a work to rule last week.

DVSA bosses plan to introduce a "flexible working" regime. Staff would be expected to travel to different workplaces in their own time, on top of their working day.

This means workers could be required to work the equivalent of an extra day per week for free.

The DVSA also intends to rip up an interim agreement covering terms and conditions.

HOLIDAY GREETINGS TO PRISONERS

AS THE holiday season approaches, Socialist Worker asks readers to write to prisoners.

When you write please enclose a stamped addressed envelope so they can reply if they wish to.

• MOHIBUR Rahman, Tahir Aziz, Khobaib Hussain and Naveed Ali were given life sentences in the Birmingham terror trial. Solicitor Gareth Peirce said there are serious questions over it. See bit.ly/2gdD7rN

You can write to them at

• Mohibur Rahman, A3480AZ, HMP Full Sutton, Stamford Bridge YO4 1PS

• Tahir Aziz, A8301DV, HMP Whitemoor, Long Hill Road March PE15 0PR

• Khobaib Hussain, A0537CJ, HMP Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham WR11 8TZ

• Naveed Ali, A0531CJ, HMP Frankland, Brasside, Durham DH1 5YD.

• JUSTICE FOR Kevin Thakrar. Go to justiceforkevan.org

Kevan Thakrar, A4907AE,

HMP Woodhill Tattenhoe Street, Milton Keynes MK4 4DA

• JUSTICE FOR Brendan McConville and John Paul Wooton. For more information go to bit.ly/2vrVaE8

• Brendan McConville, Roe 4 C7604, HMP Maghaberry, Old Road Upper Ballinderry, Lisburn BT28 2PT

• John Paul Wooton HMP Maghaberry Old Road Upper Ballinderry, Lisburn BT28 2PT

HOUSING WORKERS

Strikers want better pay –and ‘an end to Mears’

by SARAH BATES

HOUSING MAINTENANCE workers in Manchester are stepping up their fight for pay parity.

Unite union members employed by Mears housing contracting company are in their second wave of strikes this year.

The 160 workers maintain houses owned by Northwards—the arms length management company run by Manchester City Council. They are now picketing all day, with up to 30 workers on the picket line at a time.

Their contact was outsourced to Mears a decade ago. Strikers want to bring “an end to Mears” by being brought back in-house.

They want the same pay rates as those employed directly by Northwards—which can be up to £7,000 a year more.

Unite rep Billy spoke to Socialist Worker on the picket line. “Mears are a shit company—the worst I’ve worked for in my life,” he said.

“Mears is making millions, but it’s going to shareholders not to tenants.

“There are health and safety concerns too. We can’t get the safety equipment we need—and the health and safety officer is employed by Mears.”

Bosses’ penny pinching has a big impact on people’s homes. “Each



ON THE Mears picket line in Manchester

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

house was fitted with a new kitchen or bathroom a decade ago—but they need repairing now,” Billy said. “We’re not allowed to fit new kitchens or bathrooms.”

Keith added, “Manchester City Council is a business now, they’ve been sucked in by money. But they have more than enough money, they

should bring us in-house.”

Mears workers struck for over 40 days earlier this year. They are now striking every weekday except for Wednesday—and are in talks to escalate the action to include Wednesdays.

Workers there are confident they can win. Billy said, “We’ve got

meetings to talk about how to win this and we’re involved every councillor in north Manchester, and I’ve got a meeting with Manchester mayor Andy Burnham.

“We’ve been fighting this for ten years. The bosses can give themselves huge bonuses but we’re going to win.”

FIGHTING THE CUTS

Birmingham bin workers win new deal from Labour

>>continued from page 20 insisted on holding a vote. This was a response to blackmail from the council.

It threatened that workers would be sacked if the deal wasn’t accepted. Strikes had the council on the run. Suspending them was a mistake.

It’s clear that more could have been won.

Paul said, “We never should have paused the action. The workers didn’t want to pause—they didn’t trust them, and they were right. The rubbish was piling up and the council was panicking. This dispute could have been won on the picket line.”

Even as the deal was agreed, many workers were ready to fight on.

Richard described a “red mist” in the meeting, with workers “really, really angry at the way they’ve been treated”.

They need to keep that anger alive, and remain vigilant to further attacks from the council.

But for all the deal’s unnecessary shortcomings, the key message of this dispute is that hard-hitting strikes can push bosses back.

ROYAL MAIL

Walkout at delivery office

SOME 100 postal workers at a Royal Mail delivery office in St Helens, Merseyside, walked out unofficially for the second time in a month on Monday.

The workers walked out over workload and a dispute with management. A similar walkout took place two weeks ago after a worker was suspended.

One striker said, “All we want to do is do our jobs, but we have an unbelievable workload. There’s around 120 of us left after people have been suspended.”

The action comes amid talks between the workers’ CWU union and Royal Mail bosses in a national dispute over pay, pensions and conditions.

The CWU called off a national two-day strike in October after the high court granted bosses an injunction forcing the union into a “mediation” process. An external mediator was

set to release their report of recommendations on Thursday. The CWU and Royal Mail will have a week after that to meet and give their response.

In a letter to CWU branches on Friday the union said, “This dispute is far from over, we will continue campaigning”.

The CWU must announce new strike dates as soon as mediation finishes unless there is a deal that:

- Guarantees a pension scheme for all workers in the industry, not just those who’ve worked there the longest

- Gives workers an above-inflation pay rise not linked to productivity deals

- Guarantees that workers aren’t forced to change their hours to fit in with Royal Mail’s profit drive

- Gives workers a shorter working week—without loss of pay

FIREFIGHTERS

Lobby of Scottish parliament

FIREFIGHTERS lobbied the Scottish parliament on Thursday over cuts. The last three years have seen over 700 jobs, £60 million and several fire stations disappear.

Scottish Labour leader Richard Leonard urged for closer links between Scottish Labour and the trade

union movement. FBU general secretary Matt Wrack condemned the right for praising firefighters but casting them as greedy when they fight.

The idea that the Tory budget meant an end to the pay cap was slammed.

It remains to be seen if anger will turn into action.

SELLAFIELD

Nuclear strike

OVER 3,000 workers were set to walk out for 24 hours at Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plant on Wednesday of this week.

The GMB union members are fighting a pay increase of just 2 percent.

Around 60 firefighters also in GMB are demanding a pay increase above bosses’ offer of 1.5 percent.

A GMB organiser said, “Sellafield workers are angry when they see bosses given massive bonuses as rewards for failure.”

UNIVERSAL CREDIT

AROUND 60 protests were set to take place across Britain on Saturday over Universal Credit (UC).

Called by the Unite union’s Community section, they demand that UC’s rollout is paused and UC is “fixed”.

That’s Labour’s policy—and it doesn’t go far enough (see page 16).

Disabled People Against Cuts (Dpac) has rightly campaigned for “stop and scrap”.

Socialists should support protests against UC—and bring to them the demand to “stop and scrap”.

● Details at bit.ly/2BbJEwf

UNISON’S Local Government Service Group Executive met on Thursday of last week. The executive debated whether a motion from the North West Region Local Government Service Group could be allowed onto the agenda.

The motion argued that the Service Group Executive has the right to offer suggestions about strategy.

It is up to Unison’s National Joint Council (NJC) Committee to make decisions on pay for council and school workers.

Delegates argued that the full resources of the union need to be deployed if a national strike ballot is to meet the turnout required by the Trade Union Act.

Workers covered by the NJC have seen their pay cut in real terms by over 20 percent.

As one delegate said, “It’s like working one day a week for free.”

Supporters of the motion spoke of learning lessons from the CWU and PCS unions

who have achieved high ballot turnouts.

The debate included lots of ideas.

These included workplace meetings and a social media strategy such as videos of Unison activists informing members about the campaign.

The North West motion was voted on to the agenda and was passed.

It argued for a consultative ballot to build up support for a formal strike action ballot backed up by a wide range of campaign initiatives.

The Local Government Association is expected to respond to the NJC unions’ claim for a 5 percent pay rise for all workers and a minimum of the real living wage on 13 December.

Unison NJC committee meets on 14 December and will decide how to respond.

Jon Woods, Unison Local Government Service Group Executive (personal capacity)

● The TUC has called a national demonstration on Sunday 12 May 2018 in London

COUNCIL CHIEFS SLASH SERVICES

by CHARLIE KIMBER

LABOUR-RUN Bradford council is planning to axe huge parts of children's services in the city with the loss of up to 400 jobs—half the department's workforce.

This could be just the first wave of an even further reaching set of cuts across the local authority.

The children's services cuts could have severe effects on more than 2,200 families with children with special needs and children at risk.

Massive

Michael Jameson, strategic director for children's services, said, "We have to be clear there will be a massive impact on staff.

"It affects around half our staff in this service."

Yet he claimed, "But this is the best way to future proof the service."

Bradford People's Assembly said it has obtained documents revealing that the council's plans are not the result of austerity measures forced on them by the Tories.

Jameson said, "This is



PROTESTING AGAINST previous cuts in Bradford

PICTURE: NEIL TERRY

generally what we always planned to do in terms of trying to bring services closer to families, at a more local level."

Bradford People's Assembly has called a

meeting to organise opposition to the proposals.

The plans are currently undergoing a public consultation.

If approved they will reduce the help available

to children aged 0 to 19 no matter how complex their needs.

The plans will also see the downgrading of many children's centres.

George Williamson of

Bradford People's Assembly said, "Bradford council is telling the public that these drastic cuts are needed due to government cuts.

"But papers leaked to Bradford People's Assembly

show that funding cuts are being used as a cover for these changes.

"To make such huge cuts to the help families can get and putting many people's livelihoods on the line to pursue an ideological idea is beyond the pale."

Evidence

"So far Bradford council has not provided any evidence that the changes are needed.

"So why are they doing this?"

Bradford People's Assembly said that the council had been forced to abandon plans drawn up in 2015 to cut youth services after protests and opposition.

George said, "By working together, we have defeated Bradford council's planned budget cuts that will adversely affect young people and we can do it again."

The People's Assembly meeting is on Tue 5 December, 7pm, Bradford Deaf Centre, 25 Hallfield Road, BD1 3RP

 **On other pages...**
Housing attack on the rocks in Haringey >>Page 17

RESISTANCE

Birmingham bin workers' strikes win big concessions from Labour council

by DAVE SEWELL

BIRMINGHAM BIN workers have defeated the Labour-run council's attack on their jobs—but at a cost.

Unite union members voted to accept a new offer at a mass meeting last Saturday after a long-running dispute that saw weeks of industrial action.

Richard Beddows, Unite convenor at the Perry Barr depot, told Socialist Worker the deal was "a significant win".

The council wanted to lay off over 100 workers on pay grade three and force them to reapply for



PICTURE: SHARON CAMPION

different, lower paid jobs. The deal secures their jobs at the current pay grade for 14 months.

But it changes their role to include new responsibilities and concedes to the council's demand to end the four-day working week.

Council bosses said the move to a five-day week and the new role will "save" £3.2 million—a deep cut at workers' expense.

The reaction from Tory councillors showed the deal was a defeat for the council.

They raved that the council is "giving the

unions everything they wanted".

The new deal will make it much harder for the council to privatise the service.

Weakness

And with attacks on other workers' pay in the pipeline, the dispute showed the council's weakness to workers' resistance.

Richard explained that the deal also had "better longevity" than the one offered by former council leader John Clancy in August.

Unite had gone to court after the council reneged

on Clancy's deal. That deal could have seen the council start preparing a new attack on jobs.

The new one holds it off for over a year. But many workers are frustrated.

Paul Jackson, a grade three worker, told Socialist Worker, "For me that wasn't a victory."

"Victory would have been keeping our jobs without extra responsibilities and a longer working week."

The meeting to discuss the deal was called at short notice, with many workers unable to attend.

But union officials >>continued on page 19